

"The only limit to the oppression of
government is the power with which
the people show themselves capable
of opposing it."

-Errico Malatesta, *An Anarchist Programme*

ANARCHIST PRISONERS LEGAL AID NETWORK

818 SW 3rd Ave. PMB #354
Portland, OR 97204 USA
APLAN@TAO.CA

THE DEFIANT

PRISONERS IN THE GLOBAL RESISTANCE



Edited by Rob los Ricos and
the Anarchist Prisoners' Legal Aid Network



Prison-Related Projects

ABC Innsbruck / LOM Postlagernd / 6024 Innsbruck / Austria
Claustrophobia / PO Box 1721 / Baltimore, MD 21203 / USA
The Defenstrator / PO Box 30922 / Philadelphia, PA 19104 / USA
<http://defenstrator.org/index.html>
Earth Liberation Prisoners Newsletter / BM Box 2407 / London / WCIN
3XX / UK
Houston ABC 1302 Waugh Dr #433 / Houston, TX 77019 / USA
ABC Dijon c/o Maloka / PO Box 536 / 21014 Dijon Cedex / France
Missouri Prison Labor Union National Communications Office / 2435 E.
North St. PMB #255 / Greenville, SC 29615 / USA
Mutual Aid Legal Fund / PO Box 95616 / Seattle, WA / 98145-2616 / USA
Northwest Anarchist Prisoners Support Network / PO Box 11331 / Eugene,
OR 97440 / USA
South Chicago ABC 'Zine Distro / PO Box 721 / Homewood, IL 60430 /
USA
Physicians' Committee for Responsible Medicine (prisoners' vegan diet
info) / 5100 Wisconsin Ave. NW / Suite 404 / Washington, DC / 20016 / USA
e-mail: nutrition@pcrm.org
Vegan Prisoners Support Group / PO Box 194 / Enfield, Middlesex / EN1
3HD / UK

Informative Web-Sites

Spunk Press / <http://www.au.spunk.anarki.net>
Mid-Atlantic Info Shop / <http://www.infoshop.org>
Earth First! UK / <http://www/snet.co.uk/ef>
Anarchy and Chaos / <http://www.angelfire.com/tx/kaosneverfades/index.html>



THE DEFIANT

Prisoners in the Global Resistance

Edited by Rob los Ricos and the
Anarchist Prisoners' Legal Aid Network

March 2001

Cover printed by Blackberry Press
Portland, OR

The Political Prisoners of War Coalition

PO Box 554 / Lincoln, MA 01773 / USA

Introduction

The Anarchist Prisoners' Legal Aid Network

The Anarchist Prisoners' Legal Aid Network (APLAN) is a prisoner-guided initiative, formed to provide legal aid and outside support for imprisoned anarchists. We believe that anarchists need to support those who are arrested and already in jail. This isn't always easy, yet is a challenge our movement needs to take on.

There are dozens of anarchists in prison, many of whom face abuses by the prison authorities. Some are even held in segregation units with violent white racists. We can fight repressive action taken against anarchist prisoners, but it will take effort from inside *and* outside the prisons to do this.

Anarchist prisoners can contribute to struggles on the outside, but need outside contact to do this. APLAN aims to facilitate these efforts and thus strengthen anarchist practice as a whole.

We hope to provide sound legal advice and aid for anarchist prisoners. This support for imprisoned comrades is not based upon respect for the judicial apparatus, but is provided in the spirit of mutual aid and solidarity in struggle. The sharing of research material and resources will be an immediate goal. We welcome contact with those who have specific knowledge of legal matters.

We hope for broad involvement, in multifarious ways, from throughout the anarchist movement. Write for information about current activities and how to get involved.



Anarchist Prisoners' Legal Aid Network

818 SW 3rd Ave. PMB 354 / Portland, OR 97204 / USA

aplan@tao.ca

From an interview with Ali Khalid Abdullah by You're Not Normal 'zine:
You are the founder of the PPWC, can you tell us about that?

PPWC stands for "Political Prisoners of War Coalition." It is an organization I created from thought while sitting in a cell at the Egeler Correctional Facility in Jackson, Michigan. I came up with this thought because as I read and looked around I noticed that a lot of prisoners who were politically active, or who've become politicized since their incarceration weren't being represented...didn't have a voice or any outside help because some of these so called revolutionary groups weren't paying any attention to them. Some of these so-called revolutionary groups only want to profile those that were in prison with highly publicized cases and what not. So I thought it would be a good idea to develop an organization that was all-inclusive for the real revolutionary, whether they came in prison with a sensationalized case or not. Or for those who've become politicized since their incarceration like comrade George Jackson or brother Malcolm X, and are fighting and because of their fight are being abused, misused, subjected to all manner of inhumanity and injustice because of their politics.

"Some...so-called revolutionary groups only want to profile those that were in prison with highly publicized cases...I thought it would be a good idea to develop an organization that was all-inclusive for the real revolutionary..." -Ali Khalid Abdullah

With that in mind, PPWC stands to fight against capitalism because we recognize that the seeds of all the social ills today stem from the greed of man. Capitalism is about greed, exploitation, manipulation and deceit. So this is one of the reasons why PPWC is against capitalism. PPWC is also against all manner of racism, sexism, homophobia, class divisions, youth bashing, elderly neglect and, and... As I said, PPWC was begun in prison from a concept I had, but PPWC isn't just for prisoners. I mean, anyone can join PPWC *and* start a PPWC chapter. I'd like to see PPWC chapters all over the world. So far, we are working with comrades within the Anarchist Black Cross and anti-authority groups, as well as some Maoist and other revolutionary groups and individuals from around the world. We aren't gonna get caught up on doctrines and things like that. We try to maximize on what we have in common and work through that on the basis of mutual aid, free association and like that. PPWC isn't a Black thing nor a white thing, nor a Latino thing, nor a First Nation or Native American thing...it's a *peoples' thing*!



Anarchists and the Prison Issue

by Ali Khalid Abdullah

Many, many people are incarcerated, especially here in Amerikkka. There are close to or over two million people in prison, jails or juvenile facilities. Disproportionately, the vast *majority* of these people are people of color, mainly Black and Latino. There are many professed Anarchist/ anti-authoritarians who aren't reaching inside these prisons to either work with us known anarchists or to establish ties with politically active/conscious prisoners so they can be utilized in the struggle. This is sad. A sad statement, yet one which is true and must be discussed openly if we are to change our present day thinking. There are Anarchist prisoners scattered all over the world who aren't getting the real support they need. This says much about where we are headed as Anarchist anti-authoritarians.

In Spain, there are many Anarchists languishing in prisons under totally inhumane conditions. These brave and dedicated prisoners are staging hunger strikes and open rebellious protests hoping to draw the attention of Anarchists globally. Are you listening?

In Germany, we have an anarchist comrade, Thomas Meyer Falk, who is in total isolation. Living in a cold, damp prison cell. He needs help. Is the Global Anarchist Community listening?

In Italy, Anarchists are repressed and arrested for all manner of trumped up charges... Is the Global Anarchist Community listening?

In Mexico, Anarchist students are protesting the government's attempt to privatize education - are you listening? In Poland, the Czech Republic, Austria, and, and, and - Anarchists are subject to brutality, murder, beatings, incarcerations... Are you listening to those of us who languish in prisons and jails still believing in the spirit of Anarchy yet getting little to no support? It is vital that the Anarchist Collective World Wide begins to make the words *anarchy* and *anti-authority* mean what they say by *action*! But again I say, this movement cannot and will not be totally effective until the overall Anarchist Collective includes, endorses and has more people of color deeply involved. Anarchists must reach out to the people needing the most help and work diligently with them.

"There are many professed Anarchist/ anti-authoritarians who aren't reaching inside these prisons to either work with us known anarchists or to establish ties with politically active/conscious prisoners so they can be utilized in the struggle." -Ali Khalid Abdullah

Juan Segarra Palmer / 15357-077 / Box 818 / Coleman, FL 33521 / FCI

Coleman / USA

Larry Giddings 10917-086 / Box 1000 / Lewisburg, PA 17837 / USA

Marilyn Buck 00482-285 / Unit B / 5701 8th St. Camp Parks / Dublin, CA

94568 / USA

Marshall Eddie Conway 116469 / Box 534 / Jessup, MD 20794 / USA

Mondo We Langa (D. Rice) 27768 / Box 2500 / Lincoln, NE 68542-2500 / USA

Oscar Lopez Rivera 87651-025 / Box 33 / Terre Haute, IN 47808 / USA

Ray Luc Levasseur 10376-016 / Box PMB / Atlanta, GA 30315 / USA

Richard Williams 10377-016 / 3901 Klein Blvd. / Lompoc, CA 93436 / USA

Robert Seth Hayes 74A2280 / Box 51 / Comstock, NY 12821-0051 / USA

Romaine Chip Fitzgerald #B-27527 / Box 290066 / CSP-SAC FC 1208 /

Represa, CA 95671-0066 / USA

Russel Maroon Shoats AF-3855 / 175 Proggess Dr. / Waynesburg, PA

15370 / USA

Sekou Kambui (W. Turk) 113058 / Box 56 SCC (B1-21) / Elmore, AL

36025-0056 / 36089 / USA

Sekou Odinga 05228-054 / Box 1000 / Marion, IL 62959 / USA

Sundiata Acoli (C. Squire) 39794-066 / Box 3000 / White Deer, PA 17887 /

USP Allenwood / USA

Thomas Manning 10373-016 / Box 4000 / Springfield, MO 65801 / MCFP /

USA

Thomas Warner M3049 / Drawer R / Huntingdon, PA 16652 / USA

Ruchell Cinque Magee A92051 / A3-205 / P.O. Box 7500 / Crescent City,

CA 95532 / USA

Veronza Bowers Jr. 35316-136 / Box 819 / Coleman, FL 33521-0819 / FCI

Coleman (Med) / USA

William Lefty Gilday P.O. Box 1218 / MCI Shirley / Shirley, MA

01464-1218 / USA

Yu Kikumura 09008-050 / Box 8500 ADX / Florence, CO 81226-8500 / USA

Dennis Bruce Walker # MIN245312 / PO Box 656 / Grafton 2460 / NSW /

Australia

Aboriginal activist serving 5 years for an incident that occurred while

trying to protect an aboriginal sacred site.

Sounds

*In this steel and concrete tomb,
Pondering on things missed.
Foremost is a loving touch,
the feelings after being kissed.*

*Sounds of night in a woodland,
the sun's warmth on a free day.*

*The cry of a flying bird,
Gleeful laughter of children at play.*

*But what is real in these hellish places
are the many sounds of anguish,
from emotionally drained
pain numbed faces.*

*Sounds of the frustrated,
Missing those loved.*

*A fact stands out it seems.
Freedom is a mysterious lady,
We only make love in our dreams.*

20 June 96,
Harold Thompson

MORE POLITICAL PRISONERS

Albert Cinque Woodfox 72148 / CCR Upper F Isolation / LA State Prison / Angola, LA 70712 / USA

Former Black Panther charged with 1972 death of a prison guard.
John Two-Names (AKA Andy J. Riendeau) / 193786 E-6-7 / Stonon Corr. Facility / PO Box 56 / Elmore, AL 36025-0056 / USA

Serving 90 years for allegedly burning two white schools down and burglary. He maintains his innocence and while in prison helped form The Social Development Group.

Abdul Majid / 83A0483 / Box 2001 / Malone, NY 12953 / USA

Jalil Muntagim 77A4283 / Box 618 / 135 State St. / Auburn Corr. Fac. / Auburn, NY 13024 / USA

Antonio Camacho Negron 03587-069 / Box 2000 / White Deer, Pa 17887 / FCI Allenwood / USA

Bashir Hameed (J. York) 82A6313 / Box AG / Fallsburg, NY 12733 / USA

Bill Dune 10916-086 / Box 1000 / Leavenworth, KS 66048 / USA

Calberto Arlos Torres 88976-024 / Box 1000 / Oxford, WI 53952 / FCI Oxford / USA

David Gilbert 83A6158 / Attica C.F. / P.O. Box 149 / Attica NY 14011 / USA

Dr. Mutulu Shakur 83205-012 / Box PMB / Atlanta, GA 30315 / USA

Ed Poindexter #110403 / 7525 4th Avenue / Lino Lake, MN 55014-1099 / Minn. Correctional Facility / USA

Silvia Bartadini 05125-054 / FCI / Danbury, CT 06811 / USA

Serving 43 years after convicted for liberating Black Liberation Army prisoner Assata Shakur and conspiracy against US government.

Hanif S. Bey (B. Gereau) 96544-131 / Box 8500 ADX / Florence, CO 81226-8500 / USA

Herman Bell 79C0262 / Box 2001 / Dannamora, NY 12929 / USA

Jaen K. Laaman W41514 / Box 100 / South Walpole, MA 02071 / USA

Jose Solis Jordan / FCI Coleman (Low) / 081-21-424 / Box 819 / Coleman, FL 33521 / USA

Joseph "Jojo" Bowen AM-4272 / 1 Kelley Drive / Coal Township, Pa / 17866-1021 / USA

Alvaro Luna Hernandez #255735 / Beto I Unit / P.O. Box 128 / Tennessee Colony, TX 75880 / USA

ANTIFASCIST

Grzegorz Chyska, Zakład Karny, ul. Katowica 4, 46-200 Kluczbork, Poland.

Serving 3 years 7 months for defending himself from a vicious neo-nazi gang.

Klaudiusz Gliklich, Zakład Karny, ul. Wiejska 3, 99400 Kowicz, Poland.

Serving 3 years for defending himself against a vicious neo-nazi gang.

Pavel Kroupa, 4.4.1977, Veznice Vazba, Straz, Pod Ralskem, 47127, Czech.

An anti-fascist who accidentally killed a neo-Nazi whilst defending himself against a gang of five vicious neo-nazi skinheads.

Tomasz Wilkoszewski, Zakład Karny, Orzechowa 5, 98-200 Sieradz, Poland.

An anti-fascist who is serving 15 years for accidentally killing a neo-nazi whilst defending himself from a vicious neo-nazi gang attack.

ANTICAPITALIST

Michael Collins FR6303 HMP Elmley Church Road, Eastchurch Sheerness Kent ME12 4AY. England

Mark Graham, EL6133 HMP Wandsworth PO Box 757 Heathfield Road London SW18 3HS, England

Mark is sharing a cell with fellow Mayday prisoner Kevin Townsend.

The MOVE Prisoners

MOVE is an eco-revolutionary group whose members were consistently persecuted by the police throughout their existence.

The 'Move 9' were framed for the murder of a cop and sentenced to the maximum prison sentence of 100 years each. In '98 Merle Africa died in a very suspicious circumstances in prison.

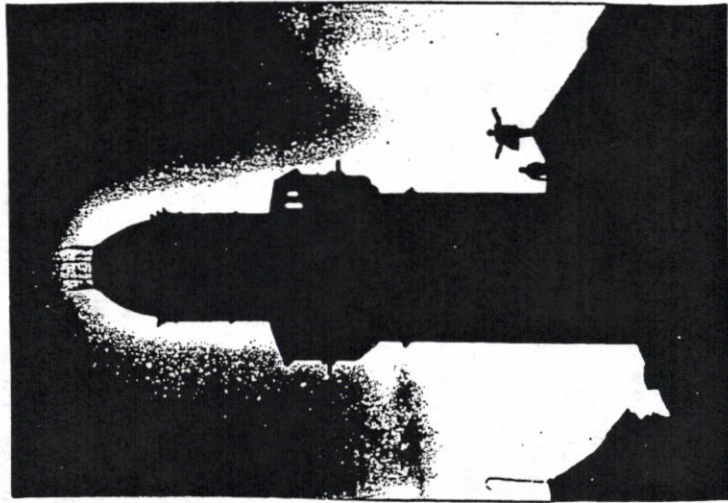
Debbie Simms Africa (006307), **Janet Holloway** Africa (006308) and **Janine Philips** Africa (006309) all at: SCI Cambridge Springs / 451 Fullerton Ave / Cambridge Springs, PA 16403-1238 / USA

Michael Davis Africa (AM4973) and **Charles Simms** Africa (AM4975) both at: SCI Grateford / PO Box 244 / Grateford, PA 19426-0244 / USA

Edward Goodman Africa AM4974 / SCI Camp Hill / Box 200 / Camp Hill, PA 17011-0200 / USA

William Philips Africa (AM4984) and **Delbert Orr** Africa (AM4985) both at: SCI Dallas / Drawer K / Dallas, PA 18612 / USA

THE UNDEFEATED



Writings from They Will Never Get Us All! by Harold Thompson

These two essays are written by Anarchist Prisoner Harold H. Thompson. They are taken from a pamphlet of his writings called "...they will never get us all!" published by Huddersfield Anarchist Black Cross, Bradford, U.K., 1996

The Importance of Supporting Prisoners

First it is important to stress that none of us is immune from arrest and prosecution for any number of alleged crimes. Especially once we have placed ourselves into the eye of the storm of struggle against the masters of capital, who believe their station in life gives them the legitimate power to enslave us in whatever form they choose, to use us up, throw us away and profit by the blood and sweat we shed in their wage slave shops, factories and mills of capitalism. Once we step out in any form of protest then the power of the state may fall upon us with unrelenting force. We are subject to arrest and imprisonment at any time, most of us, simply because we choose to be who we are, because we want to live the lives we choose in spite of the plans others make for us, because we dare to be different or because our eyes are open to the realities of our likely future, wearing the yoke of capitalism around our necks like beasts of burden, not equal human beings, unless we throw off the weight on our back to stand in the sun in our rightful place. Look at the person beside you, across the way from you and then fully realize that individual may one day be arrested and so may you because you dare to be different, threatening to those who seek to control us, especially if your life is governed by the principles of anarchism or you believe in / have undertaken direct action against your oppressors. Getting arrested is no joke so without getting too paranoid, find out what to do in such a situation and also wise up about the police. I am often blunt to the point of pain so I do apologize if my words have made anybody uncomfortable but I think one sobering thought really needs to bring a wake-up call, feeling of discomfort with it. That thought is that I am here today sitting in a steel and concrete, tomblike cage writing these words to you but sometime in the future it might actually be you behind prison walls, writing comparable thoughts to the outside. If they come for you in the morning...

The "system" and mainstream media portrays those of us within the ever increasing numbers of jails and prisons as being the equivalent of the proverbial biblical "unclean people", to be feared, less than human, and not to be bothered with of worthy any degree of outside concern or support. It amazes me how many intelligent people, including anarchists, active in political struggles, have to varying degrees bought into the disinformation put out by the sys-

Also, four anarchists already serving 3 years and 4 months each for a bank robbery in 1994 received an additional 6 years and 6 months sentence (apart from Carlo who got 7 years) for another bank robbery. They are: Antonio Budini / Via Prati Nuovi 7 / 27058 Voghera, Pavia / Italy Jean Weir / Via Bartolo Longo 92 / 00156 Rome / Italy Carlo Tesseri / Via Leopardi 2 / 61034 Fossombrone, Pesaro / Italy Christos Straigopulos / Via Sforzeca 49 / 28100 Novara / Italy

Orlando Campo / Via Delle Macchie 9 / 57100 Livorno / Italy

Despite lack of evidence, Orlando received 22 years for the alleged participation in the kidnapping and murder of a wealthy businessman's wife in 1990. He maintains his innocence and his imprisonment is seen as the beginning of a series of frame-ups of Italian anarchists.

Indigenous Land Rights Prisoners

Leonard Peltier # 89637-132 / PO Box 1000 / Leavenworth, KS 66048 / USA
For more info contact: LPDC PO Box 583 / Lawrence KS 66044 / USA.
email: lpdcomite@aol.com
<http://www.members.xoom.com/freepeltier/index.html>

Leonard Peltier is an American Indian Movement (AIM) activist framed for the murder of two FBI agents. He is now serving two consecutive life sentences in prison. Despite substantial new evidence and huge public pressure he has been consistently refused a retrial and he was denied a pardon by ex-president Clinton.

Lenny Chavez c/o SAIIIC PO Box 28703 / Oakland, CA 94694 / USA
email: saiiic@igc.apc.org

A 36 year old AIM activist and Kiowa man, Lenny was cutting wood at his home when he was attacked by a right wing Aryan group member. The man grabbed Lenny's chainsaw threatening him and all those in the property. Fearing for his and his family's life Lenny drew his penknife and inflicted non-lethal injuries to the attacker. While the other man went free, Lenny was charged with attempted murder.

Robert H. Wilson # 640289 / Pack Unit One / 2400 Wallace Pack Rd / Navasota, TX 77869 / USA. Standing Deer Defense Committee / PO Box 368 / Carrollton, GA 30117 / USA

email: bdyingswan@aol.com <http://standingdeer.homepage.com/index.html>

Robert (Standing Deer) is Native American prison activist now in his late 70s. He has been in super-max prisons for over 20 years. In 1978 he exposed a government plot to assassinate Leonard Peltier. In 1984 he went on a 42-day hunger strike with Leonard and another prisoner to draw attention to the inhumane conditions endured by prisoners at Marion Control Unit. He is not eligible for parole and has no release date. Because of his prison activism the prison system refuses to recognize his Indian name.

Anarchists

The following is an extremely brief and partial listing of currently imprisoned anarchists. Just because a prisoner is not listed here does not imply that they do not need and deserve solidarity and support.

Ali Khalid Abdullah # 148130 / Thumb Correctional Facility / 1225 John Conley Dr. / Lapeer, MI 48446 / USA
Mark Barnsley WA 2897 / HMP Wakefield / 5 Love Lane / Wakefield / WF2 9AG / UK
Ojore Nurul Lutalo # 59860 / PO-861 / Trenton, NJ 08625 / USA
Thomas Meyer-Falk / JVA Bruchsal / Zelle 3117 / Schönbornstr. 32 / 76646 Bruchsal / Germany
Shaka N'Zinga s/n Arthur Wiggins # 196612 / PO Box 534 (MHC - X) / Jessup, MD / 20794 / USA
Chris Plummer # 677345 / Michael's Unit / PO Box 4500 / Tn. Colony, TX / 75886 / USA
James Rio Johnson # 8952263 / SRCI / 777 Stanton Blvd. / Ontario, OR 97914 / USA
Robert Thaxton #12112716 / SRCI / 777 Stanton Blvd. / Ontario, OR 97914
Harold Thompson # 93992 / Northwest Correctional Complex / Route 1, Box 660 / Tiptonville, Tennessee 38079 / USA
Nikos Maziotis, c/o Dafni Vaganou, Ozortz 3, 10689 Athens, Greece.

The Italian Anarchists

Patrizia Cadeddu / Carcere di San Vittore / Piazza Filangeri, 2 / 20123 Milano / Italy

In 1998, Italian police arrested 3 anarchists on serious charges of subversive association for the purpose of constituting an armed gang. They were accused of various cases of direct action linked to the popular struggle against the construction of a high-speed railway. Only one of the 3 arrested anarchists remains alive.

Edoardo Massari, 38 year old from Ivrea, was found hung with a bed sheet in Vallette prison in Turin on March 28, 1998. The authorities claim he hanged himself. **Maria Soledad Rosas**, 22 year old from Argentina, apparently hanged herself on July 11, 1998—choosing the same day of the week and time to die as her companion **Edoardo**. The anarchist and grassroots oppositional movements have reacted to the deaths angrily and forcefully.

The surviving prisoner, **Silvano Pelissero**, undertook a month long hungerstrike until finally being placed under house arrest on July 22, 1998. **Silvano Pelissero** / Com. Mastrolitto / Via Ferrerlinoli no2 / Sanponso / 10080 Torino / Italy.

tem. The majority of the residents of the gulags are for the most part just like other working class people on the outside, only through a twist a fate they were arrested, stood trial and were imprisoned. The system provides the sensation-alist image of those behind gulag walls being a bad lot, best steered clear of because the system fears association between those inside and outside.

Inside is a potential army waiting to happen, which needs education, direction and support. The system desires nothing more than to maintain a wall of silence around the gulags isolating prisoners to break their minds and spirits. I have seen many men reach out to the struggles outside with heartfelt letters, eager for information about the various movements, education about them. Prisoners seeking companionship and comradeship. I have seen only a few of those who make contact, who are encouraged to learn, to grow, to realize who they are, their potential value to themselves and to the communities outside the gulag walls. I have seen far many more give up and sometimes even gravitate towards the hate groups which are now in abundance within the gulags as they are out there. These eventual recruits to the ranks but those who claim to be revolutionaries outside chose to ignore their very existence.

I myself have tried in vain for over a decade "inside" to make contact with like-minded people embracing anarchist politics. I was determined to reach out and refused to give up, unlike a lot of other prisoners around me. I reached out at every opportunity and continued to reach out when there was no response, though many letters requesting political literature and anarchist books but above all, comradeship with other anarchists. My unanswered letters began in the late seventies, continued throughout the eighties and into the early nineties. Finally an anarchist solidarity letter was handed to me by a faceless clone of a guard at a Tennessee gulag in 1992! That letter and letters since have been like a welcome breeze of fresh air blowing through a place where the air and life stands dormant. The mere fact a fellow anarchist bothered to write brought tears to my eyes, eyes I was long convinced would never feel tearful moisture again. I've worked hard since that first communication to break down the walls between us, you and I, to reach out, to show those who write I'm not different except for my circumstances of being within the belly of the beast.

"...I am here today sitting in a steel and concrete, tomb-like cage writing these words to you but sometime in the future it might actually be you behind prison walls, writing comparable thoughts to the outside." -Harold Thompson

I am not saying the gulags do not hold their fair share of social predators but many prisoners do become politicized within gulag walls often due to their own learning efforts. Through direct experience of the system itself, which generally treats prisoners with such blatant injustice that many soon feel

only resentment, contempt and anger towards it. Repression breeds resistance. I am merely trying to point out the obvious pitfall of not supporting those seeking the tools to become politicized.

Sadder still than these social prisoners ignored by the revolutionary movements are those souls captured during direct or other political actions only to discover once in captivity that they appear to have somehow not been deemed worthy of support and are hence soon forgotten by their so called "comrades". One conceptual truth screams out in my heart to be voiced so I will state it now. Any political movement or people's struggle, which fails to provide support to fallen comrades is doomed to failure as certain as day follows night. Prisoner support should be considered as a top priority within all political movements and with all activists, as we, you or I, never know when gulag gates will slam shut behind us or when those gates to the outside will open again to allow our passage back out once the system has us in it's grasp.

"Inside is a potential army waiting to happen, which needs education, direction and support. The system desires nothing more than to maintain a wall of silence around the gulags isolating prisoners to break their minds and spirits." -Harold Thompson

I have endured many hard years, over a decade and a half, within the gulags of this state. As I've already said I spent the first decade banging my head and heart against a wall of silence, attempting to reach out to ears that appeared to be deaf and eyes which appeared to be blind to my existence in hell. I never gave up and have earned the right to point these issues out now. I have earned the right to speak out with the shedding of my blood, the pain of this, in past beaten, tired body and my spirit of anarchism has never been broken by my keepers and never will be! It has only been in recent years that I have been acknowledged by my anarchist brothers and sisters out there. From my heart I state to you that I love you all! I will close now with these final words. Take care of each other, keep each other safe in the struggles which you face and never forget those in captivity because tomorrow's captive of the monsters of this earth may well be you. Our common enemies are the same from country to country being only different in name and face. They represent the same ideology, which sees this planet and it's populace as throwaway commodities. They threw away their humanity in exchange for power and profits. Stay strong and know in your heart I am with you in revolutionary spirit in every act you undertake against those who oppress us. We only want the earth, they will never get us all!

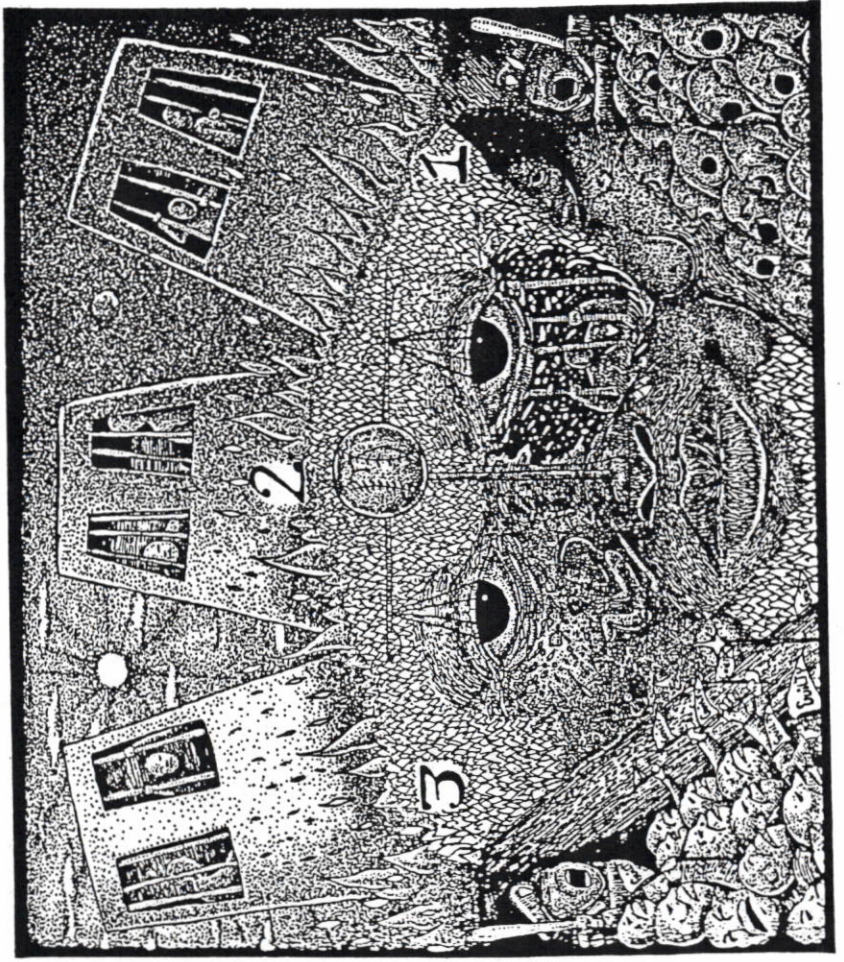
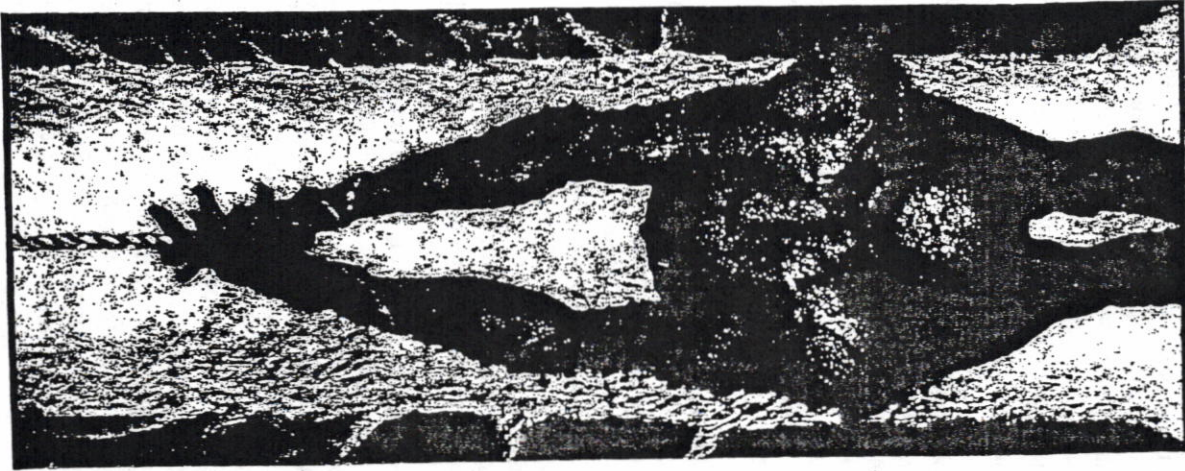
18 April 95

PRISONERS AND PRISONER SUPPORT



Where There is a Will, There is a Way

Years ago in the now closed Tennessee State Prison, Nashville, an individual, or group assigned to the prison's sheet metal slave labor shop managed to get hold of one .38 caliber pistol cartridge and this single shell sparked at least one creative imagination. Covertly making use of the prison's machine shop equipment and while under direct observation of eagle eyed shop guards, a .38 caliber, single shot pistol with a silencing device was made by one or more prisoners. It was discovered before it could be put to use but its existence did prove one thing, that you are only limited by your imaginations and creativity. Another example, during WW2 the allies produced and dropped from planes what was known as "Woolworth .45" pistols over various portions of Nazi occupied Europe where partisan forces were very short of arms. The Woolworth .45 was 'a weapon to get a weapon' as it was meant for close range use only being single shot, not much more than a barrel, simple firing mechanism and three shells within a grip compartment. Ideally, the user had to get close enough to a Nazi soldier to shoot him and steal his weapons. Then they would pass on their Woolworth .45, 'their gun to get a gun' to another partisan. These examples and countless others should serve as sparks of inspiration as they illustrate what can be accomplished with a bit of creativity and resourcefulness when resources are scarce.



Red, White and Blue Fascism

by Rob los Ricos

Rape in U.S. prisons is so much a part of American culture, comedians and TV sitcoms refer to it as a way to score a quick laugh. This is a sad reflection of the state of our society. The issue of prison rape points to many related concerns about the civil rights, health and safety of prisoners and the "build em and fill em" mania which has the U.S. political system moving in a seriously dangerous direction.

The incredible growth of the punishment industry has made it an integral part of the economy, similar to the way the production of war materials is essential for economic growth. This continual expansion requires ever more people to be incarcerated, for longer periods of time. It's about jobs.

My intention in writing this was originally to call attention to the plight of a woman prisoner I know - Barrilee Bannister at the Eastern Oregon Correctional Institution. Her story is so typical of the conditions abused prisoners face, though, it's impossible to separate from the larger social and political issues which created and perpetuate these conditions.

Though many states were already headed in the direction of tough-on-crime politics before then, George Bush brought it to the forefront of the political arena as a central part of his campaign strategy in '88. The alternative candidate retorted, not by challenging Bush's alarmist rhetoric, but by showing just how tough on crime he could be. Since then, attacks on women's access to abortions, anti-flag burning legislation and tough-on-crime posturing have all been essential elements in winning election campaigns for much of the country. This vilification of the general public as flag-burning-abortion-having criminals has led to the ascendance of a corporate-run state in which the masses are horrified at "violence" directed at corporate property, but indiscriminate assaults on anyone and everyone by the police are tolerated as a just aspect of imposing order, as happened during the so-called Battle of Seattle when the World Trade Organization conferred there last year. The overly shrill denunciation of the rioters is but one example of the attitudes which have, unsurprisingly, created an atmosphere of self-repression in the general public. Voters unthinkingly pass new legislation into law in their eagerness to repress themselves: three strikes, mandatory sentencing and upward reclassification of lesser crimes are others. This has led to a dramatic increase in the number of people incarcerated in the U.S. Earlier this year, the prison population here exceeded 2 million men, women and children. Worldwide, there are 8 million people in prison. With five percent of the world's population, the U.S. has 25 percent of its prisoners. Land of the free, my ass.

Mark Barnsley was actually on the ground. Prior to being injured, the second student, Darren Thursfield, was seen chasing Mark Barnsley across the car park shouting, "Come back here you f---ing bastard". According to Thursfield's evidence in Court, he had merely approached Mark Barnsley saying, "There's no need for any trouble."

20) At the time he was chasing Mark Barnsley across the car-park (see above) Darren Thursfield was seen by an independent witness (a building worker on a site over-looking the car-park) to be carrying a glass. His injury was a 3cm. long 2cm. Deep cut to his stomach. The Prosecution told the Jury that this was a stab wound, but this is contradicted by other medical evidence. The shape of the wound also indicates that rather than being caused by a knife, it could have been caused by a glass.

21) According to a forensic report that was not submitted to the court, all the wounds sustained by the students would have required only minimum to moderate force to cause them. This totally supports Mark Barnsley's assertion that the injuries of the students were caused without intent (after he had disarmed one of them) during the sustained attack on him by a large number of people.

22) Despite the circumstances Mark has always expressed regret at the injuries sustained by the students. For their part though, the students, even in the face of overwhelming evidence, much of it from their friends and fellow students, have never admitted causing any of the injuries clearly sustained by Mark Barnsley (see 9 above) Only Sheperd admitted assaulting him at all. Simpson, for example, faced with irrefutable evidence that he had punched Mark Barnsley in the face, knocked him to the ground and jumped on top of him continually assaulting him, said that he had merely lost his footing and slipped on top of Barnsley. Like the others, he pleaded loss of memory to explain away his other actions, while still denying that he was the least bit drunk or under the influence of drugs.

23) Despite being acquitted on three of the five charges against him, and importantly on count 1, which indicates that the Jury accepted that he did not instigate the violence, and that the knife belonged to one of the students, Mark Barnsley received a prison sentence of twelve years. This is so high as to be practically unknown for this type of offence. Even in cases of manslaughter, where the knife is deliberately carried and used to kill, the established tariff is four to seven years.

24) On the same day, (April 1st 1996) that Mark Barnsley was denied leave to appeal against his convictions, three students involved in separate attacks upon two men (one a disabled man who later died) were convicted of two counts of wounding with intent (the same as Mark Barnsley) as well as other offenses, and sentenced to between 18 months and 2 years. Like the Pomona students they had been "celebrating their exams"

25) Mark Barnsley currently has an application before the European Court which lists more than seventy-three violations of Article 6 of the European Convention on Human Rights (Right to a fair trial).

or heavy glass, a broken nose, a 3cm. Cut over the left eye, broken and damaged teeth, a knife wound to his hand, one or more broken ribs and in fact injuries covering his entire body area.

- 10) From the very first moment of the attack upon him Mark Barnsley was clearly trying to escape the violence (he did not even retaliate), but he was pursued around 150yds. By a large mob of attackers who were punching and kicking him the whole time. He was actually knocked to the ground on at least three occasions, and even then the students continued to assault him.
- 11) Contrary to ill-informed reports in the Press, Paul Sheperd, who led the attack on Mark Barnsley, did not chase after him to "make a citizens arrest". Sheperd dismissed this idea himself when giving evidence; Saying that he would not know how to make one. He went on to say, "I have no idea why I chased after him, whether from frustration or for a laugh. I just went after him".
- 12) In his Police statement, Paul Sheperd said of his own behavior, "I must admit I went apeshit"
- 13) At least three students involved in the Pomona Incident (friends of the others, who are named in a number of Police statements), fled the scene prior to the arrival of the Police(within minutes), and despite numerous applications by the Defense, the Police say they are unable to locate them.
- 14) During the trial every single student witness gave contradictory evidence. In contrast to the testimony of all the Defense witnesses, which was entirely consistent, as was the testimony of all the independent Prosecution witnesses (which supported the Defense).
- 15) Four of the five main Prosecution witnesses clearly committed perjury whilst giving evidence. This was acknowledged by the Judge, but kept from the Jury, and no legal action has ever been taken against them.
- 16) All of the student witnesses admitted discussing the incident with others prior to making statements and before giving evidence. Many of them were forced to concede under cross-examination that they had described events that they had not actually seen, and that they had been influenced by gossip, the media, and even by the Police.
- 17) Despite evidence from an independent expert that there was enough evidence to prosecute four of the five main Prosecution witnesses for drug use, no action has ever been taken against them. The evidence of this expert was not disclosed to the Jury.
- 18) As in the case of many miscarriages of justice, the Prosecution withheld a great deal of evidence from the defense prior to the trial, and they are continuing to withhold it even to this day.
- 19) There is already evidence from an independent witness, a microwave engineer who arrived in the car-park of The Pomona at the time Mark Barnsley was being attacked, that the two offences of wounding with intent that Mark Barnsley was actually convicted of, could not have happened in the way the Jury were led to believe by the Prosecution. According to this witness, at the time the first of these students, Mark Thomas, was injured,

Just as the U.S. holds a disproportionate number of the world's prisoners, a disproportionate number of those prisoners are Black and Latino. Most of us are poor too - as are most of the white prisoners. With token exceptions, mainstream America is lily white and worships wealth. Anyone outside the mainstream is objectified as "others," as opposed to friends, neighbors, and relatives. This makes their vilification easier to accept. Youth is also a targeted segment of society. Despite the fact that juvenile crime has been in decline since the 1970s, the media and the politicians are in hysterics about how to better control youths. Control, to the forces of order and power, means prisons.

"Voters unthinkingly pass new legislation into law in their eagerness to repress themselves: three strikes, mandatory sentencing and upward reclassification of lesser crimes are others. "-Rob los Ricos

So many people are being incarcerated these days that building and running prisons constitute two of the fastest growing industries in the U.S. economy. This awful situation is made even more so when one considers that this was done deliberately by the corporations and the governments - city, county, state and federal. Their cooperation has led to the development of a corporate state. Get it? Just to clarify: I am in no way implying the U.S. A. resembles a fascist nation/state; I'm saying that the U.S. is in fact a real, actual fascist country.

If you think I'm exaggerating to make a point, consider:

- 1) A right-wing, fascist sympathizer (who would display this by honoring his fallen heroes - Hitler's SS, the Nazi-party army - this, a week after addressing a gathering of Spanish fascists, where he told them the U.S. fought on the wrong side during WWII. And he did this while in office!) was elected president, then promptly declared his victory a "revolution".
- 2) His first act as president was to fire striking air traffic controllers. He later had the savings and loan industry deregulated so that board members could plunder them. He used the General Accounting Office to withhold funds for "anti-business" projects - like enforcement of O.H.S.A. and EPA regulations - and redirected the money to his friends and allies in the defense industry and to raise private armies to wage "secret" wars.
- 3) At the end of their first puppet regime, the corporate state is so entrenched in power that no politicians dare speak or run against it. They only slightly disagree on how to manage it. A controversy in legislatures usually involves debate about whether to give corporations all the power they demand or to give them even more.

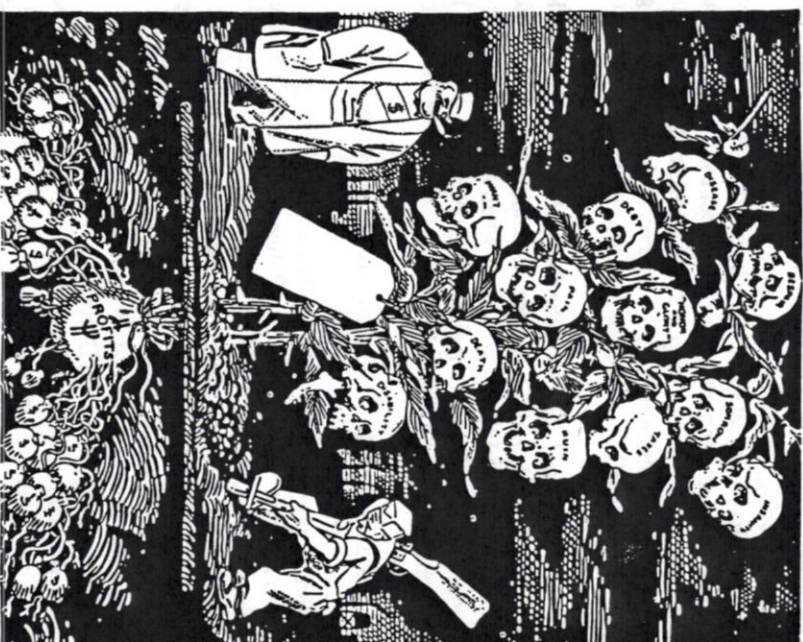
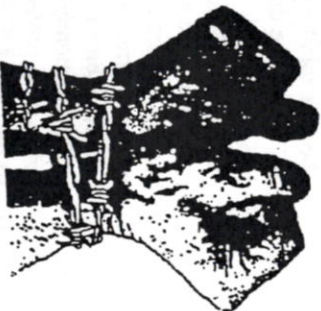
- 4) Laws are passed to encourage industries to shut down and relocate their operations. This leads to hundreds of thousands of people losing their jobs. Many of these relocations are done in retaliation for city and state governments passing regulations favoring workers and protecting the environment.
- 5) To prepare for the conditions massive unemployment will cause their communities, many begin to build jails and prisons, both to house the people whose lives were devastated by the loss of the industries and to provide jobs for the select few.
- 6) International treaties are ratified to force nations to submit to the domination of their economies by the corporate state.

Fascism is a socialistic form of rule whereby institutions are everything and the people are nothing – except for the ruling elite. Though fascist governments function most efficiently under a dictatorship, there have been instances where fascists were voted into power – El Salvador and Argentina come to mind. Racism is usually associated with fascists, though it certainly isn't a definitive characteristic. Two of the most recognizable traits of fascism are extreme nationalism and intolerance of opposition.

Just because American fascists don't openly goose-step at mass rallies, they aren't any less recognizable. It will be interesting to see how they react to an unexpected turn of events – the recent emergence of genuine opposition to their iron-clad rule, as is being demonstrated by massive street actions in First World countries. So long as these actions lead to no real changes, they will be tolerated – even welcomed – as a newfound tool to control the masses. Though this oppositional movement shows some promise, the utterly dismal failure of the IMF / World Bank protests shows how easily the opposition can be co-opted and/or silenced. We can look

back to the last worldwide period of unrest – '68 – '72 – to see that much of what pacified the militants then is already happening now – the well-trained professional activists call for restraint in exchange for photo ops with and meaningless promises from politicians. Those not satisfied with this arrangement will face harsh treatment from the police – which makes the leaders of the oppositional-like organizations all the more eager to compromise with the forces of order and power. For now, however, it seems possible that this could change, should the opposition solidify its position against capitalism and keep pressure on the capitalist politicians.

How will the corporate state respond to real, determined opposition in the First World to its policies and goals? If one listens to the mouthpieces of the ruling class, the prospects are not encouraging. Elected officials have basically exonerated the out-of-control Seattle Police Department for its savage attack on everyone in the streets of downtown and the Capitol Hill neighbor-



25 Facts about Mark Barnsley's Case:

- 1) Mark Barnsley was sober at the time of the attack upon him. The students on the other hand, were not only drunk but a number of them had taken drugs.
- 2) Mark Barnsley was outnumbered by his attackers by as many as 15 to 1.
- 3) Bizarrely, the defense case is supported by every single independent prosecution witness, and every single detail of the Defense Case is supported in each instance by at least two student witnesses.
- 4) One of the students "Big" Simpson, who is 6ft 5 1/2 in. tall, and who said, "I'd like to f - k your baby", has a conviction for making obscene telephone calls.
- 5) Although there were sixty witnesses to the incident, not one of them claimed to have seen Mark Barnsley stab or threaten anyone with a knife.
- 6) Not one single witness saw Mark Barnsley produce a knife.
- 7) The first person to be injured with a weapon (a bottle or heavy glass), was Mark Barnsley who was struck over the head from behind.
- 8) The first person to be cut with a knife was Mark Barnsley.
- 9) During the attack upon him Mark Barnsley sustained a large number of substantial injuries, including a 3cm. long head wound caused by a bottle

Mark Barnsley

On the morning of the 8th of June 1994, Mark Barnsley, a 33-year old writer, could not have been happier. He had become the father of a third daughter only 6 weeks earlier, his career was going well, and he would shortly be going on holiday to the Lake District with his young family. After working for a few hours on books he had recently been commissioned to write, he invited a family friend, Jane Leathborough, to call in and see the baby. His partner, Samantha, had to go out for an hour or so, and before leaving suggested that, as it was a bright, sunny day, mark and Jane might take the baby, Daisy, for a walk and perhaps stop for a drink.

At round 3.30pm that day a number of police patrols were alerted to a disturbance at "The Pomona" public house in Sheffield. When they arrived at the scene they found that 5 university students had received serious injuries.

The headlines of the local newspaper, 'The Star', the following day read: "Five stabbed for poking fun at girlfriend. Knifeman slashes students at pub"

When Mark Barnsley was subsequently arrested for what had quickly become known as "The Pomona pub stabbings", and charged with 5 counts of "wounding with intent to cause grievous bodily harm, contrary to section 18 of the Offences Against the Person Act" there was total surprise from everyone who knew him. Friends, neighbors, and colleagues expressed complete disbelief.

Mark Barnsley has absolutely no history of violent behavior, quite the opposite, he was described as a kind and caring man by all who knew him. Nor has he ever suffered from any form of mental illness, indeed in the words of a psychiatrist: "He seems to have always enjoyed a very stable, mature, responsible, and pleasant personality." Yet the Prosecution case was that he 'took on' a group of some 15 people who he had never seen before, deliberately inflicting knife wounds on five of them, because he took exception to an innocent remark, made in Barnsley's absence, by one of the group, (who was not injured at all), about the sunglasses being worn by Jane Leathborough.

More than a year later, during which he was remanded in custody, and after a trial which lasted nearly 3 weeks, Mark Barnsley was acquitted of 3 of the 5 offences with which he had been charged, but convicted on 2 counts. He was also convicted of 3 lesser alternative offences, (unlawful wounding), with which he was never charged.

After waiting a further 5½ months Mark Barnsley received sentences of 12 years concurrent on each of the section 18 convictions, and 5 years concurrent for each of the 3 lesser offences.

The Pomona case has been characterized throughout by lies, perjury, the with-holding and "planting" of evidence, and a biased and highly inaccurate local press campaign. The facts are very different. Anyone who bothers to look further than the lurid and sensationalist headlines can surely reach no other conclusion that Mark Barnsley is the victim of a gross miscarriage of justice.

hood, yet have denounced the people who attacked and damaged corporate property. The loyal opposition has joined them, too, leaving an isolated minority vulnerable to reprisals from the forces of order and power.

Notice my deliberate use of the phrase "order and power" rather than the cliché "law and order." Much of the actions by the SPD during their all-out assault on the people in and out of Seattle were illegal in many respects - violations of the U.S. and Washington constitutions; human rights treaties; city, state and federal laws. At issue is not the respect for law, but who has power - people in the community, or corporations and their hired mercenaries? It is the corporations who have the economic power to control the actions of the government and police, and with the exception of the street vandals during the Battle of Seattle, few people have yet to challenge that power.

I'm going to briefly mention corporate crime. Despite massive and blatant disregard for health, safety and environmental laws and regulations, I see no politicians or government officials calling for long jail sentences for these crimes, nor for the plunderers of the savings and loan industry, which has cost the taxpayers over a trillion dollars so far. Under a fascist government, the ruling elite is beyond the reach of the law.

Given the current "anti-crime" hysteria in the political scene these days, the future for political dissenters looks quite grim. One group who has recognized this goes by the name of Future Political Prisoners of America.

When is Rape Legal?

My friend Barrilee is involved in a scenario worthy of the most twisted imaginings of Franz Kafka.

This young, working class single mother (there's three strikes against her already) lost her temper. In a fit of rage, she beat up another woman. She is currently serving a 12-year sentence for her crime, under the supervision of the Oregon Department of Corrections.

Unprepared for the drastic increase in prisoners due to mandatory sentencing laws, the O.D.O.C. decided to send a number of prisoners out of state. 78 women ended up at the Corrections Corporations of America's Central Arizona Detention Center in Florence. This facility was not set up to accommodate women prisoners. The all-male staff was quick to take advantage of their position of power over these women to force them into performing erotic acts for them, when they weren't actually raping the prisoners. Women who tried to call this to the attention of the warden were subjected to particularly harsh retaliation. This was not a matter of a few bad apples abusing their authority. Somewhere between 27 (according to CCA staff) and 50 (according to the prisoners) guards joined in.

This is not a lone example of sexual abuse of women in prison. Women in Washington D.C.'s Department of Corrections reported they were forced to dance naked for the guards. This after the D.C. D.O.C. had settled a lawsuit for \$8 million over sexual harassment of women prisoners.

As is typical in such incidents, the women's complaints were not reported to law enforcement agencies or to the proper courts. Instead, the women

were identified to the staff as "loud mouths" and subjected to disciplinary action, like being put into segregation units – the hole – good time taken away and sometimes the women were fined, in addition to a continuation of even an escalation of their abuse.

How far will governments and prison officials go to protect their rapist guards? Rather than punishment for their crimes, guards have sometimes been promoted after being accused. The state legislature of Michigan even passed a law to prevent a lawsuit from being filed against the Michigan D.O.C. by victims of sexual abuse by M.D.O.C. staff.

All this has not gone unnoticed, even if the American public is, for the most part, unconcerned. Human Rights Watch has begun documenting these abuses and has a report on the M.D.O.C. titled "Nowhere to Hide: Retaliation Against Women in Michigan State Prisons."

When Barrilee and other women finally decided to take drastic action against C.C.A. to put an end to their torture and humiliation, their story created a media sensation, first in local Oregon newspapers, then on TV, until it exploded nationally. Eventually, the women were returned to Oregon and the C.C.A. fired or suspended three dozen staff members.

If this were a Hollywood story, Barrilee would have been released due to massive public outrage and a sympathetic court system. In the real world, Barrilee is still in prison, under the supervision of people whose jobs and careers she has put in jeopardy by standing up for her rights. She was repeatedly told to keep quiet by the prisonrats at the Oregon Women's Correctional Center. If there are three words that can describe Barrilee, though, they are "fight, fight, fight." Utterly unintimidated, she continues to speak her mind and stand her ground.

This is where I enter the picture.

As a lifelong activist, when mutual friends introduced us through the mail, I became not only outraged over her abuse but also impressed by her strong spirit. Her story became known to me over several months' correspondence. I told her I would try to get some outside support for her, which I did. As an anarchist organizer, activist and writer, I have a number of contacts in the anarchist community. One man in particular stands out in this part of the story – Anthony Rayson, one of the strongest supporters of anarchist and other prisoners in the U.S. He is Midwest Coordinator of the Political Prisoners of War Coalition and also participates in the Anarchist Black Cross – another support group that sends literature to prisoners.

Anthony sent Barrilee letters of solidarity and reading material. Alarmed that she was getting the attention of political activists outside, the administration quickly moved against Barrilee. She was assigned to Security Threat Group (anarchist) status – a designation used to keep gang members under closer supervision than general population prisoners. Since this was a new – not to mention fictitious – development, Barrilee was put in the hole, had 12 days of accumulated good time reinstated to her sentence and was fined. She was also fired from her job. When another packet of literature from Anthony arrived, the O.W.C.C. rejected it as a security threat. Then they threw

Ali Khatid Abdullah

From an interview with Ali by You're Not Normal 'zine:

Can you give our readers some basic background info on yourself?

Well let's see... I am a New African Anarchist. I am 47 years young, college educated with a Bachelor's degree in Behavioral Science. I have a paralegal certificate in Criminal and Civil law. I have no children. I'm a professional "jazz" musician but play all sorts of music. Jazz just happens to be my forte.

I've been in prison now about or a little over a decade for "Assault with intent to rob while armed." The case involves me and three other comrades who were out to stop a particular drug dealer (very prominent) from continuing his activities. I don't want to go into a lot of details here but I will say that we went after one of his "front" businesses and ended up having to abort the situation because the parties at the business didn't know what was going on. So my comrades and I left without taking anything or harming anyone. In fact, I even apologized, but it's a long and drawn out issue and I don't want to go too far into it here.

You also do the awesome 'zine In The Trenches. Tell us about that.

Yes, my 'zine *In the Trenches* is something that I had thought of and my good friend and comrade Anthony Rayson helped me put it into being. Anthony is a very good guy. A fighter, a real tiger. He is someone that not only says something but backs it up with action. In the *Trenches* is a compilation of material from prisoners all over the country and world. It is not about no one else's shit but prisoners and what they are going through, what they have to say and what is happening in terms of the law and prisons. In the *Trenches* is a voice for the voiceless. A vehicle which I would encourage all prisoners to become a part of. That is what *In the Trenches* is all about. I am just pleased that there are people like you that like the 'zine and I hope to keep it coming out.

James Rio Johnson

James Rio Johnson has been active in anarchist projects since the early '80s – mostly in the squatting scenes in places like L.A., DC and SF. He was kicked out of the '89 anarchist gathering in SF after the donation jar for the Left Socialist Revolutionary went missing immediately prior to Rio's distribution of vodka for the masses. This experience convinced him of the futility of working with activists and Rio became an illegalist. He's in prison because he killed a drug-dealing pimp.

Since he's an active anarchist prisoner, he's been repeatedly locked down with Aryan Brotherhood and other neo-nazis. These boneheads have harassed and assaulted Rio, resulting in permanent injuries. He's currently in the hole at Snake River Correctional Institution – where the most violent "gang" members are incarcerated.

Robert Thaxton (AKA Rob los Ricos)

Rob los Ricos (12/31/59 -) is the anarchist tag of Robert Thaxton. When the revolution Rob had prepared himself for didn't happen in the 70s, he drifted into activism in the 80s in Dallas, TX, and was involved in ACT-UP and CISPEs, as well as KNON-FM community radio station, where he was eventually elevated to program director... The Gulf War erupted and the anarchists became the most militant and spectacular faction of the Austin anti-war effort. The media silence over the opposition to the war and the ineffectiveness of the protests led Rob to believe that protests-as-usual were a waste of time. He then turned his energy towards developing networks and gatherings of anarchists in Texas which resulted in two statewide gatherings in Austin ('92 & '93) and also an anarchist presence at the Republican National Convention in Houston ('92).

Rob began to re-examine his anarchist thoughts in order to try to direct his efforts to create a life more in line with his desires for a liberated existence and also decided to start a family. Though that relationship failed, he has a wonderful daughter (Raven) because of it.

When life in Portland became unbearable, Rob joined a group of friends in the woods of Southern Oregon, where people were rediscovering a simpler way of life - gardening, homebrewing and creating basic living structures with materials the forest provides.

Though life in the woods was rewarding, Rob still wished to stay in touch with and be a part of the anarchist community at-large. To do so, he began a website, Anarchy and Chaos - <http://www.angelfire.com/tx/kaosneverfades/index.html> - mostly to give voice to the more thoughtful and militant anarchist writers he'd encountered, both personally and via the mail. He also spent the winter of '99 in Columbia, MO, to become better acquainted with the publisher of Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed and be more involved in that project.

Just as things were beginning to work out to Rob's satisfaction, he traveled to Eugene to attend a two-day anarchist conference and the 6/18 Reclaim the Streets festival there.

A cloud of tear gas, random attacks by riot police and a tossed rock later, and Rob was in jail, and eventually sentenced to 7 years and 4 months in prison.

Determined to continue the struggle - even while incarcerated - Rob and his supporters in Portland formed the Anarchist Prisoners' Legal Aid Network, a resource-sharing and communication network for incarcerated anarchists.

Barrilee - who had just been released from the hole - back into disciplinary segregation. She has been warned not to contact Anthony or me. She has also been instructed to stop referring to O.W.C.C. staff as "gestapos" in her letters.

Human Rights Watch's report - "All too Familiar: Sexual Abuse of Women in the U.S. State Prisons" - along with dozens of individual and class action lawsuits, suggests that sexual abuse of women prisoners is not only evident, but rampant in U.S. prisons. Estimates run as high as 70 to 80 percent of women prisoners experience sexual abuse. The apathy of the general public to this horror has pushed some women prisoners to suicide, particularly in the states of Florida and Connecticut.

"If this were a Hollywood story, Barrilee would have been released due to massive public outrage and a sympathetic court system. In the real world, [she] is still in prison, under the supervision of people whose jobs and careers she has put in jeopardy by standing up for her rights" -Rob los Ricos

This lack of empathy from the outside is only a single symptom of a greater lack of concern about abuses of power by those supposedly in charge of upholding the law. The public has apparently failed to realize that increased penalties for a greater variety of crimes, along with the constant addition of new laws to the books, will do nothing to make their society safer and instead turn their "democratic" corporate state into a totalitarian police state.

Since the focus of spending for prisons has shifted to construction, prisons have cut back on programs intended to prepare the incarcerated for their return to society. Thus, the purpose of internment has changed from rehabilitation to punishment. This partially explains why the public is disinterested in the abuse - sexual or otherwise - of prisoners. That, plus a willful stupidity. If it hasn't occurred to the voters of Oregon that sexual and physical abuse are learned cycles of behavior, they'll be figuring it out soon enough, as the first wave of Measure 11 offenders - victims of long, mandatory sentences (and abuse) - are released. Since so many (65%) victims of Measure 11 are young, first-time offenders, this portends a social catastrophe. What percentage of these first-time offenders will repeat the behavior they learned in prison upon their release? And what if efforts to head off this impending social disaster through educational and activist campaigns are successful? If probation is again an option to judges, juries and prosecutors, along with shorter sentences, there will be even less incentive to rehabilitate prisoners. The state will need repeat offenders to keep their prisons full. Before dismissing this notion as cynical paranoia, let me remind the reader that when a small Florida community learned the local industry would soon close, leaving 1,700 people without work, their solution to this problem was to build a 1,200 bed jail. Crime is a good business investment. If the government and politicians want to invest in

prison and jail construction, you can bet they'll see to it that their money is well spent.

According to Texas prisoner I've been corresponding with, "...they're putting people in and they're not letting them out." Several states, including Texas and Oregon, now require prisoners due for release to take a psychological evaluation. Without explanation, a hearing or a chance to respond to the psychologist face-to-face, the prison officials can extend the prisoner's "stay" for two years, even if the prisoner has no history of disciplinary infractions or has not been found guilty of new crimes. This is illegal. The courts have instructed the O.D.O.C. they have no authority to do this. They continue to do it anyway.

So, the prison staff abuses prisoners, rapes women prisoners, and the administration covers it up, condones or in extreme cases rewards the abuse by its staff - then takes disciplinary action against or extends the sentence of prisoners in retaliation if they take legal action to correct these abuses.

A recent federal inquiry into the abuse by police and prison staff (the Clinton Administration's report to the U.N. Committee Against Torture - 10/15/99) proudly announced that, though there are instances of abuse, they are aberrations and there are no signs of widespread human rights violations by the forces of order and power. Unlike the gullible citizens of the U.S., the rest of the world isn't buying Clinton's story. A Canadian judge recently refused to extradite a young man to the U.S., citing inhumane conditions - the tolerance of homosexual rape among them- in the U.S. prisons as his reason.

My courageous friend Barilee's situation is a microcosm of everything wrong with this society. Sentenced for an incredibly harsh prison term for a relatively minor offense, she was shipped to a distant state where she was sexually abused, ignored by the administration of the for-profit institution when she reported the abuse, and then shipped back to Oregon where she was threatened with retaliation and finally dumped into the hole for continuing to speak up for herself. And so far, the administration and bureaucrats are able to get away with this because the citizens of Oregon don't care; many of them actually approve of the humiliation, beating and rape of prisoners.

"So, the prison staff abuses prisoners, rapes women prisoners, and the administration covers it up, condones or in extreme cases rewards the abuse by its staff - then takes disciplinary action against or extends the sentence of prisoners in retaliation if they take legal action to correct these abuses." -Rob los Ricos

Under red, white and blue fascism, the American people have been conditioned to love the powerful and hate themselves - objectified as "others." If the corporate state closes the local factories, and moves them to abroad, the

capable of defending Chris and others like him from attacks. It's time to stand by our imprisoned comrades - Chris and everybody else - and not leave them to the mercy of a sick establishment that will go to extreme lengths to preserve its own existence.



WE ARE IN HERE FOR YOU; YOU ARE OUT THERE FOR US

Harold Thompson

Harold is an anarchist sentenced to life and 50 years for a 1979 robbery of a jeweler, killing a police informer who had murdered his partner and a shooting incident in Ohio. He was later given an extra 32 years for a failed escape attempt. He is an active jailhouse lawyer who helps other inmates. He has been brutally attacked, robbed and placed in segregation for his own safety due to inmates from the racist White Aryan Brotherhood working with prison officials.

Chris Plummer

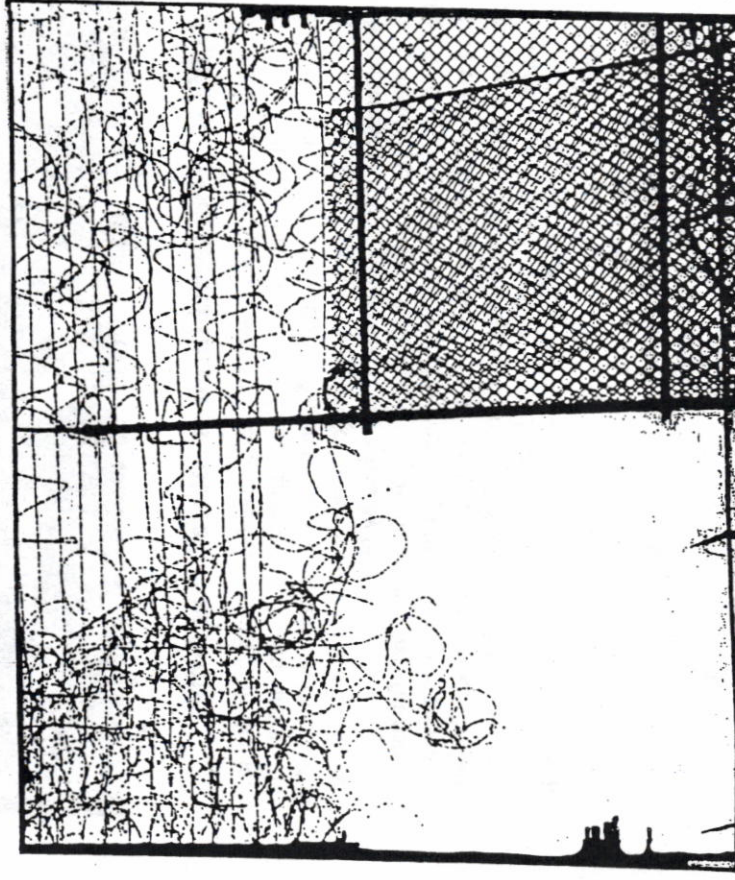
Chris Plummer is an anti-racist anarchist activist imprisoned in Texas. After being involved with the squatting movement on New York's Lower East Side in the late 80's and early 90's he took to travelling the country connecting with various libertarian counter-culture groups. During this time, he and some friends formed the United Anarchist Front, a group designed to carry out actions against agents of fascist terror, particularly the cops and organized white supremacists. He was convicted in 1993 for his part in an action carried out on a Nazi-skinhead house in Houston, Texas. Police found Chris' fingerprints at the scene and he was arrested later that year. The action was intended to halt the American Front, an openly fascist group proud of its record of racist violence, from spreading propaganda in local neighborhoods and schools. No one was hurt during the action, only the Nazis hate literature was destroyed. Chris faced several charges including attempted murder. This ridiculous charge was dropped when it became clear that Chris would not be terrorized into turning in his friends. He was, however, convicted of Burglary of Habitation with Intent to Commit Theft, and sentenced to 15 years.

Chris did not stop his organizing efforts after being imprisoned. The Texas prison system has a well-justified reputation for being a maelstrom of hate, terror and exploitation. One of the ways that control is maintained by the prison administration is by encouraging conflict between the different prisoner nationalities/castes, or 'races'. In spite of this environment Chris was able to set up a prisoner organization called Cell One at Huntsville also home of Texas' notorious Death Row. One of Cell One's main projects was the Texas Prisoners' Anarchist Lending Library. With materials made available from outside supporters, the Library made available books, pamphlets and magazines relevant to the struggles of the oppressed for liberation: Black/New Afrikan, Chicano, Native and class struggle histories, anarchist and other revolutionary theory, anti-sexist, anti-racist critiques, etc. In March of 1997, guards confiscated and then "lost" all of the books as well as many of Chris' personal possessions under the pretext of a "gang-activity" investigation. Around this time, intimidation attacks from a Nazi prisoner gang escalated in a murderous assault where Chris had his jaw and cheekbone broken and barely escaped death.

In May, 1997 Chris was transferred to the Hughes Unit in Gatesville, Texas where Chris reported that racial tension and general violence was rampant. The Texas Department of Criminal Justice chose this unit knowing that a paid hit was out on Chris' life by Nazi prison gangs. Shortly after the transfer he was put in Administrative Segregation on lock-down (isolation) for arbitrary and unclear reasons.

After three years of such terrorization by the prison authorities, Chris was finally released from Administrative Segregation and transferred to another Texas prison. He now expects to be released near the end of 2001, perhaps even earlier. He continues to be involved in the fight for a better world, and has never backed down despite actions against him by Nazis and prison staff. We need to develop solidarity networks for anarchist prisoners that are

media plays "America the Beautiful", the corporate leaders wave the flag and the politicians build prisons for the newly created underclass.



Much of the information for this article was obtained from:

Prison Legal News
2400 NW 80th St. #148
Seattle, WA 98117

Stop Prison Rape
6632 Lexington Ave Suite 48
Los Angeles, CA 90038

Human Rights Watch
350 Fifth Ave. 34th floor
New York, NY 10118
(212) 290-9700
Fax: 736-1300
Email: hrwnyc@hrw.org
<http://www.hrw.org>

Barrilee Bannister #11309597
Eastern Oregon Corr. Inst.
2500 Westgate
Pendleton, OR 97801

"Nowhere to Hide..." <http://www.hrw.org/reports98/women>

Warning to potential correspondents of Barrilee: any use of the word anarchy or anarchist, or the circle A symbol, could cause further problems for Barrilee, who is not an anarchist - so be cool!

Writings from

The Anarchist Rain

By Shaka N'Zinga

(...) PART II: relief found through nature's rain drops

It has been raining all day today. All I have been hearing this day is how nasty and bad the rainy weather is - I am, of course, in disagreement with such shallow views of nature's beauty. An untamed beauty that can be found in a carefree and soft drizzle or a savage and heavy down pour - this natural and necessary process is loved, enjoyed and cherished by me.

Considerately, today, to show my marrow deep reverence for nature - in spite of being in an unnatural and dehumanizing situation such as prison - in practice, I went out to have a walk in the rain during the yard period. The rain was coming down ever so tenderly, with droplets which felt very much like a sensuous and warm kiss of the long desired Sugar of a lover's sweet and soft lips, with their life giving and reinvigorating powers of transformation, which are just like spring showers.

The states hired guns don't like seeing we captives, the slaves, having any sort of self-determination or self-management - enjoying a thing which is determined by my will and not dependent on theirs. So, they, the pigs (correctional officers), of course, paid me a little more attention than customary. For them, much to their disgruntlement, I looked as if I was enjoying an entity that they had been conditioned to view as bad, an entity which they had no control over - that entity coming from nature so beautifully named rain. Those of us captives in chains aren't supposed to be able to have any sort of enjoyment outside of the control of our overseers.

This consideration brought a smile to my rain soothed face; just the thought of finding in such a simple human practice a way to rebel against their sadism, made my walk in that gentle rain that much more pleasant... During this walk, I drifted of into some sort of revolutionary daydream of how things should be. I wasn't completely conscious of this shift in my psychological state. The thoughts that I, the so-called slave whose not capable of such achievements, was formulating in my mind moved along these lines of reflective deliberation - I was talking to myself in a tone just above a whisper:

The revolution, the rebellion against all that harms societies humanity, must be fought daily through our interactions and interrelationships with our own first and foremost. I cannot see us being any sort of example of what ought to be if we haven't, through action and reflection, developed those revolutionary and liberated relations amongst ourselves that reflects the alternative of our Anarchist Ideals."

Ojore N. Lutalo

In Ojore's own word, he is "serving a parole violation sentence (we received 14 to 17 years) stemming from a 1977 conviction for expropriating monies from a capitalist state bank (in order to finance our activities) and engaging the political police in a gun battle in December 1975 in order to effect our departure from the bank, and to ensure success of the military operation..."

"After my parole violation term terminated in December 1987, I started serving a forty year sentence with a twenty year parole ineligibility (I was paroled in 1980, and I have been back in captivity since April 20, 1982) that I have received in 1982 for having a gun-fight with a drug dealer. The overall strategy of assaulting a drug dealer is to secure monies to finance one's activities, and to rid the oppressed communities of drug dealers." Ojore was originally arrested with New African P.O.W. Kojo Bomani Sababu, and was struggling with comrade Andaliwa Clark up until the point that Andaliwa was killed in action within the confines of New Jersey's infamous Trenton State Prison after he shot two prison's security guards in the repressive Management Control Unit (M.C.U.) on January 19th, 1976 when they tried to stop him from escaping from captivity.

"From the inception of all revolutions, I feel that the people need armed combat units to check state sponsored acts of terrorism by the government's security forces. In addition, I feel that these armed combat units are necessary to show the people that fascist acts of state-sponsored terrorism... will be responded to militarily. In 1975 I became disillusioned with Marxism and became an anarchist (thanks to Kuwasi Balagoon) due to the inactiveness and ineffectiveness of Marxism in our communities along with repressive bureaucracy that comes with Marxism. People aren't going to commit themselves to a life and death struggle just because of grand ideas someone might have floating around in their heads. I feel people will commit themselves to a struggle if they can see progress being made similar to the progress of anarchist collectives in Spain during the era of the fascist Bahamonde..."

Ojore is presently locked down in an MCU in Trenton. "Nevertheless, I'm not complaining because I have accepted revolution, which is an armed struggle for me, and I have come to terms with the prospects of death and captivity... The vast majority of the Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners now being interned here in the concentration camps of North America aren't receiving any assistance (e.g.: being liberated, assistance in liberating ourselves, financial assistance needed to obtain food packages, winter clothing, reading material and postage stamps) from the so-called progressive revolutionary organizations, groups and individuals here in Amerika. With our talents, we have been abandoned here in the state's numerous concentration camps and our MCU's by those out there in what we call minimum custody..." We don't need moral support because we have purpose. We don't need anyone to tell us to stay strong because we are going to remain steadfast anyway, because we have come to terms with the prospects of death and captivity."

Patrizia Cadeddu

Patrizia had been active in the anarchist movement for many years and was involved in the squat "Laboratorio Anarchico". She has been in prison since June 1997.

She was charged with belonging to Azione Revolutionaria (an anarchist guerilla group that disappeared in the 80's) and with being responsible for the bomb attack of April 25th 1997 against the town hall of Milano. On the 1st of May a letter was posted to the office of "radio popolare" in which Azione Revolutionaria claimed responsibility for the attack. The anarchist and the far-left in Italy have a strong doubt about the existence of this group that disappeared in the early 80's.

Patrizia Cadeddu was proven responsible because she was recognized on a video surveillance camera that was filming near the mailbox where the letter was sent. The quality of the film was dramatically bad. Patrizia was proven guilty because of the way the person was walking on the video and because of the form of her hands and lips! She was sentenced to 5 years. She appealed against this judgement and was sentenced at her second trial (in March 1999) to 3 years and 9 months. According to Italian law, she could be freed on parole, but her demand was denied by the judges because she claimed a few months ago, while she was jailed that she'll stay anarchist. No need to say that Patrizia is a political prisoner. She has always been claiming her innocence since her imprisonment. She is not doing well in prison both on the moral and physical level. She is currently fighting a breast tumor. Her weight went down to 35kg and she has always refused to be put under house arrest claiming she just never should have been jailed.



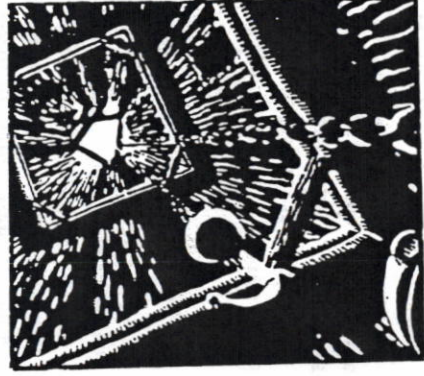
At this point of my internal discourse, I almost ran head long into a pig, whose look of hatred only added strength to my courage and resolve... plus my internal smile and glow grew that much wider. I apologized, excused myself and proceeded to walk and to continue my Anarchist discourse in the rain with myself and Alexander Berkman, who from out of thin air appears to me declaring, to me, the incorruptible idea about the innate oppressive character and function of all governmental authority and law - in these words:

"What is the thing we call government? Is it anything but organized violence? The law orders you to obey, it will compel by force - all government, all law and authority finally rest on force and violence, on punishment or fear of punishment..."

When he completed sharing his thoughts with me, he said good day, however, before he turned to leave, I quickly asked him to tell Emma that I love her and that she is and will always be alive, wild and free in the liberated zone of my heart, mind and soul. With that comrade Alexander turned, took a step or two, and was gone as quickly as he had appeared, back to the fabled autonomous, communal, and directly democratic anarchist society in the sky... And with a smile I continued where I left off at, dialoguing with myself - contemplating the beauty of anarchism and the courage and wonder of my own humanity:

"That all governments have been instituted to profit the interest of the few, the ruling classes, is a historical fact and present day reality that can never be stressed enough. The whole idea of government is rooted in the repression of the human/the individual's right to be truly free. The laws of the government are the restrictive laws handed down by the ruling capitalist class; restrictive laws that serves to prevent the individual from ever discovering their human potentials to be more than just a well fed slave in the capitalist machine of world domination."

The subjective reality of the individual human experiences and creative potentials are constantly negated by the system that push this purist and absolute idea of complete objectivity, must be razed from the minds of those of us who are attempting to commune and build with the people - agitate, educate and organize with and through the people to build the revolutionary anarchist commune... and ultimately an anarchist society. As anarchists we do not believe in compelling anyone to think or view the world as we do, so it can and never will be a situation where we will be directing people's lives, against their own will, minus them being intellectually, socially, vocationally aware of what's taking place. We will not employ the oppressive and repressive means of the enemy - government and its laws. The individual's liberty and autonomous self-management of social and eco-



nomie life are some of the highest virtues of the anarchist. Bakunin asserted that, "The State... is the most flagrant, the most cynical, and the most complete negation of humanity," a standpoint held to be the State's "supreme duty and its greatest virtue..." It is a social revolution that we aspire to actualized via our anarchist ideals and humanistic outlooks in practice, protracted struggle - a stateless, classless, voluntary, cooperative federation of decentralized communities will be the ideals given birth once we raze the State and it's capitalistic masters, the ruling classes... This is our alternative to the death and destruction that is the product of the present unjust organization of society.

"The states' hired guns don't like seeing we captives, the slaves, having any sort of self-determination or self-management — enjoying a thing which is determined by my will and not dependent on their's." -Shaka N'Zinga

At least I am thinking clear and revolutionary as an Anarchist. A man of African descent. A New African born in the slave nation of Amerikkka - the land of the slave controlled, owned and operated by the ruling class."

PART III: Revolutionaries cannot remain sane inside the de-humanized design called prison!

And I know that I must be free of this insanity called corrections...

Oh, damn, I had spoken too fast and enjoyed too much - I had almost forgotten that the enemy still had control - the cow bell was ringing which signaled the end of the yard period - thus like cows, my brothers, in single file line, allowed themselves to be herded back into the prison/pen by our warders. I of course made them do their sadistic job, they had to call me to come to get the routine pat downs or the humiliating prospect of receiving a body/strip search. And thus, once again, I had my peace shattered and the insanity of being in a situation of captivity shoved down my already stripped and lynched libertarian consciousness... for my freedom I am willing to depart from this insanity... but I just gotta hold on... death on this side of the bars, walls, and razor wire would be another wasted consciousness of revolutionary import... not like George Jackson, my spiritual father, will I die a premature death... The revolution cannot be fought and won from this side.

Yet, in complete rebellion, but for a moment, I was free in spite of the bars, walls, and razor wire. I rebelled, as I walked in a circle around the prison's court yard, in a mental state of loving euphoria and complete bliss. This moment of sanity was enough contact with my humanity to strengthen me with the power to resist the insufferable pain of being a captive in a so-called free land... just a little bit longer. This is the price of resistance we must pay for our continued psychological, emotional and intellectual existence. As Comrade George Jackson wrote in his second and final book "Blood in My Eye", over twenty six years ago, about this price of respite to be paid by we slaves:

and his family from any assailant-German, fascists or communists. In 1981 he was jailed just because he was found guilty of possessing these weapons and he died in hospital in 1983 because of bad health.

I confirm and point out that I'm an anarchist, rebel and individualist. This statement only concerns myself, and not my comrades Soledad and Edoardo, who are accused and imprisoned for the same crime as I am. I would like to remind you that the crimes we are charged with include subversive association, assault against public buildings with explosives, robbery.

I point out that I'm incompatible with any way of life you have, with the salary system, with authority and ownership (which always comes from exploitation). I'm against the TAV project in Italy, France or Germany or elsewhere. I'm against tourism in the snowfields of Val di Susa or Valle d'Aosta, as well as on the Cancun beaches in Mexico or in the Club Med villages, wherever they are located.

I'm against any use of nuclear power as well as the exaggerated use of cars.

I'm opposed to and incompatible with any form of authority, from the judge who discharges or charges with a crime according to his whim, to the policeman doing his job, the head foreman and the school teacher.

"I point out that I'm incompatible with any way of life you have, with the salary system, with authority and ownership (which always comes from exploitation)."

-Silvano Pelissero

In your civil, democratic society, founded on a hypocritical peace I cannot see a possible space for me to live. I can see no place for dialogue with your majority that has mainly turned its back on the ground for the sake of that shame which justifies any slaughter: *Progress!*

I deny any involvement in the assaults carried out in Val di Susa or other places. I deny being involved in a group called Grey Wolves (Lupi Gripi) that has claimed some assaults in Val Susa and has nothing to do with the Turkish Grey Wolves. The idea of being active in an organization does not comply with the principles of anarchism.

I end this short statement as part of my duty to my comrades who showed me their solidarity. I do not want to justify my position towards the so-called civil society that accuses me of eco-terrorism. I do not recognize any power and authority to judge my way of living.

I shall take note of the sentence passed against me, which shall only be executed owing to a greater numeric and technical force. Everyone may think and do what s/he wants. Those who want it can stay by me and those who do not feel like it can stay away from me as if I was a demon coming out from who knows which hell of society.

-Silvano

No surname, as it is unimportant. Family names are only used for filing.

Silvano Pelissero

Silvano Pelissero is an anarchist from the Piedmont area of Northwest Italy. He was sentenced on January 31st, 2000 to seven years in prison after being arrested in March 1998. He was sentenced under the false accusation of being responsible for several attacks / sabotage in connection with the building of a high-speed train line through the "Val di Susa" valley, between Torino (Italy) and the French border.

On March 9th, 1998 three anarchists were accused of "belonging to a terrorist organization aiming to overthrow the democratic order." A lot of demos and support actions took place in Torino. Some of the gatherings turned into riots because of police repression. Two and a half weeks later Edoardo Massari was found hanged in his cell. Investigators of course claimed he committed suicide. Squatters got angry and more solidarity actions took place. Soledad Rosas started a hunger strike the day after Edo's death. She was denied the last letters that Edo wrote her from his cell before the state murder. She was then granted house arrest, while Silvano was transferred to the high security prison of Novara where he wrote his first statement. One day later, on March 21st, Silvano started a hunger strike. Huge demos with up to 1000 people took place in Torino to protest the state murder and the repression against squatters.

Soledad Rosas, the Argentinian girl who actually arrived in Italy after the actions she was accused of occurred was found dead in June 1998. She spent a few months in prison, including solitary confinement, and was eventually under house arrest in a "community" after Edo's death. *Out of the three anarchists framed up by Italian Justice, only Silvano remains alive.*

Meanwhile the sabotage against the TAV in the Val di Susa continued. As comrades of the three anarchists point out, their blood is on the hands of all involved in jailing and prosecuting them: justice, police, corporations, and media.

What follows is the first statement that Silvano wrote from his cell in May 1998, when he was imprisoned in the famous high security jail of Novara. A lot of Italian political prisoners are jailed in this terrible prison.

Statement - Announcement of Silvano from Bussoleno

To civil society, to the anarchist comrades, to the greens, reds, blacks, to those who understand everything or nothing, to those who are not interested at all in what happens around them, to everyone aware of changing the course of history - Novara, May 5th, 1998

The undersigned Silvano is the son of Bruno who was a 15-year old partisan order taker (communist partisans who fought in North Italy in 1943-45 against the nazi-fascists of the Salò republic) in Balmafol-Combe-Caserme Savine area. He never lined up with communists, socialists or other political parties. *He was neither an anarchist.* He never gave back the weapons he used during the partisan guerilla wars and he always kept them to defend himself

As a slave, the social phenomenon that engages my whole consciousness is, of course, revolution.

The slave - and revolution.

Born to a premature death, a menial, subsistence-wage worker, odd-job man, the cleaner, the caught, the man under hatches, without bail - that's me, the colonial victim. Anyone who can pass the civil service examination today can kill me tomorrow. Anyone who passed the civil service examination yesterday can kill me today with complete immunity. I've lived with repression every moment of my life, a repression so formidable that any movement on my part can only bring relief, the respite of a small victory or release of death. In every sense of the term, in every sense that's real, I'm a slave to, and of, property.

Before being shoved back inside the door that will take me back into the bowels of the beast defined as prison (an inanimate object that feeds off the souls of the oppressed and dehumanized, souls made insane by its inhumanity), I looked up and from behind the lovely dark rain filled clouds appeared a silver lining - looking very much like freedom's motif to me - and in this silver lining that lined the clouds appeared the revolutionary and love inspiring image of a true Anarchist, the beautiful spectacted face of Emma Goldman spoke these words, word likened unto a warm breeze of a splendid spring evening: "Only in freedom can man grow to his full stature. Only in freedom will he learn to think and move, and give the very best of him. Only in freedom will he realize the true force of the social bonds which knit men together, and which are the true foundation of normal social life."

Now, here in the cage, I have discovered a level of freedom that has long ago informed me of my need to be physically liberated from this dehumanizing design called correction. In spite of the fact that I am still here, I am still fighting, thanks to that rebellious walk in the rain - free indeed, if only for a moment... Given strength to continue my struggle to one day be free of this slave ship that doesn't ever, never, moves - this insane antisocial arraignment called prison, designed in the 1790s by god fearing capitalistic church goers. The Anarchist Rain will erode and then raze it... in a dream, in my imagination, or in reality?

"Yet, in complete rebellion, but for a moment, I was free in spite of the bars, walls, and razor wire."

-Shaka N'Zinga

Smashing the chains in my dreams, as I sleep, dreaming of struggling on the other side of these bars, walls, and razor wire. Coming awake with the words of Bakunin on my lips: "History consists in the progressive negation the primitive animality of Man by the development of his humanity. I am truly free only when all human beings... are equally free. The freedom of other men, far from negating or limiting my freedom, is, on the contrary, its necessary condition and confirmation." And the war, for my liberty and innocence, continued.

Facing the Capitalist Bourgeois Without Fear

by Ali Khalid Abdullah

All over the world we find laws being implemented to control the masses. To have them afraid to stand up and demand their rights; to be sovereign; to be critical; to stand boldly and announce the wrongs being committed by government officials who are lackeys for big business = capitalist = money changers.

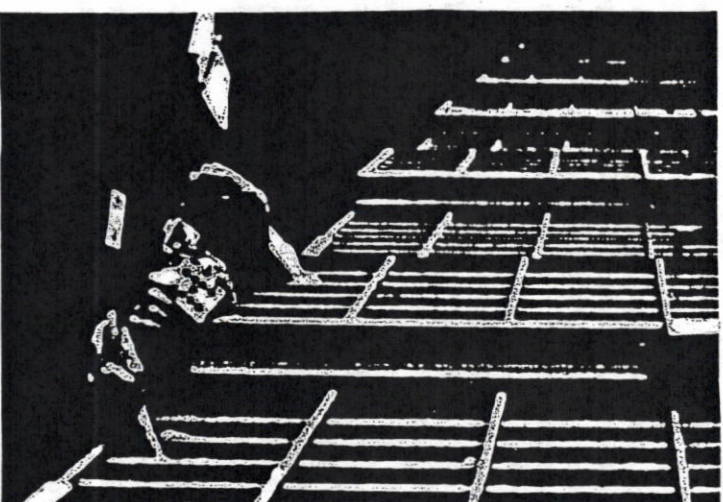
With this progressive fear by the capitalist bourgeois come various forms of aggression, repression, censorship and murder. It also entails the massive rate of incarcerations, prisons, and in Amerikkka, the death penalty, as well as the blatant erosion of laws where even the appearance of justice is not trashed in favor of absolute (dictatorship) abuse.

We have witnessed the extremes of the capitalist bourgeois in Seattle during the WTO demonstrations, and during the demonstrations in Washington, D.C. regarding the abuses of the IMF and WB. We've seen it most recently in Detroit, Michigan and Canada during the Organization of American States (OAS) and various Reclaim the Streets (RTS) actions around the world, and during Mayday events. More and more the people's voice-the people's right to protest-is being met with oppressive resistance which includes beatings, shootings, trumped-up charges (where they are fined or jailed, or both). All of this in order to frighten us and for us to believe that the bourgeois' property is sacrosanct. To have us "knowing our place" and not cross the artificial barrier that's been erected based on class, race and gender.

What this all means is that the capitalist bourgeois are afraid of the people. Afraid of the masses because "they" (the capitalist bourgeois) are the minority. Therefore, there is a need to instill terror and fear in the masses to



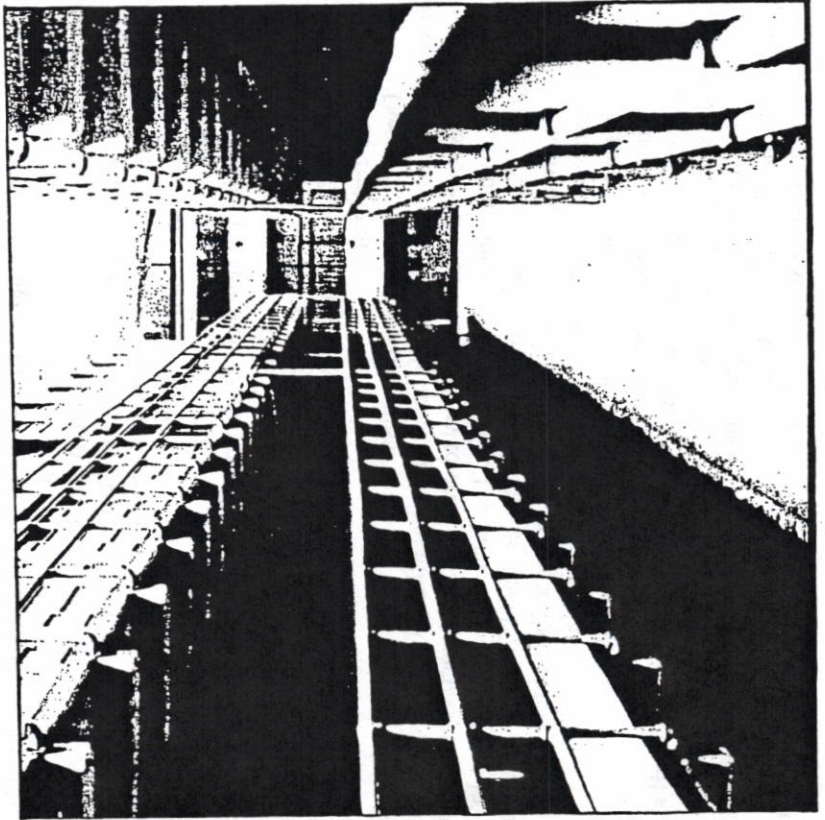
THE ENCAGED



in Kalogreza. Tsironis was murdered in Nea Smyrni in 1978...
 And there is one more case -if we want to discuss crimes once more-, the case of Sorin Matei. When Matei kept a policeman as hostage, the police didn't make any move to arrest him. When Matei took civilians as hostages, the police couldn't care less about their lives. In order to strengthen their prestige the police invaded the apartment where Matei had taken shelter, resulting to the death of a young woman. The criminals were more the policemen of the special units than Sorin Matei. As criminals as the manager of Nikaia general hospital, Alexiou, who ordered the transportation of Matei in the prison hospital Agios Pavlos, where he died either by the beating up he suffered by policemen or by the drugs they were giving him.

That is to say who is criminal...

July 7, 1999



ings, incarcerations, and an assortment of attacks. *Exploitation of the many by the few!*

"Keeping us in fear is the basis of all political discourse under capitalism... This is why police (all over the world) are more aggressive today. This is why the right to protest and challenge is met with bullets, batons, beatings, incarcerations, and an assortment of attacks." -Ali Khalid Abdullah

We must face the challenges placed before us by the capitalist bourgeois without fear or intimidation. We must not bow down when faced with anything if we are to make a difference if we are to succeed. Being afraid inhibits us from being effective and allows the capitalist bourgeois to march their agents (police and other enforcers of property) against us in arrogance. Our fear gives them victory. Our hesitation gives them an advantage and that advantage only knows one thing...*oppress!*

Whenever we are attacked, beaten, brutalized, we have a right and a duty to give it back but with relentless extremes. Our actions (to survive) must go beyond the brick and the bottle throwing. Beyond the window smashing because this isn't effective nor does it pose a threat to the established bourgeois who is insured and will have these minor problems, not only fixed, but also receive something as a result of this incident. No, we must be more extreme. Extreme Action...Extreme Relentless Direct Action must be the new order for us to rely on or the domination we're all facing and living under will grow even worse. *We* must be the example for check n' balance.

Already we see governments around the world taking guns from the people, or making it so difficult to obtain that many don't try to own one. This tactic is being enforced whereby leaving the masses defenseless and unable to fend off any brutal attacks by the agents of the capitalist bourgeois. A defenseless people are a people subject to unchecked aggression, oppression, repression, brutality and other undesired treatment.

If we do not face the capitalist bourgeois now and remain firm in our communality and minimize our differences, soon it will be too late to develop any resistance. We will simply become human robots.

Anarchists and the Prison Struggle: Revolutionary Solidarity Not Empty Rhetoric and Liberalism

by Mark Barnsley

A while ago I was irritated to see a well-known Anarchist magazine use prisoner support work as an example of "single-issue" politics. The comment may have been merely thoughtless, rather than anything else, but the fact that it appears to have gone unnoticed, and certainly unchallenged, reflects the poverty of current Anarchist thought in relation to the prison struggle, and the marginalization of what was once very much a central issue for revolutionaries in general, and for Anarchists in particular. While some Anarchists may regard the prison struggle as just another single-issue, for increasing numbers of working-class people, prison is a central part of their lives.

The purpose of the British judicial and penal system is locking up working-class people, something which it does exceptionally well. Almost no middle-class people at all go to prison, and on the extremely rare occasions that they do, they are given shorter sentences and treated markedly differently to working-class people. The middle-class are happy to call for longer prison sentences and the worsening of prison conditions in the safe knowledge that the likelihood of them, or any of their friends and family, ever going to jail is, just about nil (look at Billy Straw.) Because of their (real) class position the people who dominate all political movements in this country (the middle-class) see prison struggle as a marginal issue, and consequently the movements they infest are in turn marginalized from it. This is currently as true of the British Anarchist movement as of the left in general, and in practice (painful to hear as it might be) the Anarchist movement are worse than some in this respect.

Despite what they may pretend, middle-class pseudo-revolutionaries still maintain most of the anti-working-class prejudices held by their mummies and daddys. These prejudices manifest themselves in all sorts of ways, and this includes their attitudes to prisoners. It is no coincidence that the British left and Anarchist movement has generally been far more comfortable in publicizing the cases of prisoners who are incarcerated far enough away for them to be unlikely to turn up on the doorstep. They may claim otherwise, but most middle-class Anarchists seem to have innate prejudices when it comes to accepting that so many miscarriages of justice take place in this country, and few sincerely believe that the State fits people up, certainly not as a direct result of their political activism - That only happens in other countries.

"No isolated group of individuals can win a fight against a vastly stronger enemy, and in here we are as isolated as could be." -Mark Barnsley

posed the argument that policemen have committed murders but they don't go to prison for that. I have already opposed the argument what kind of job is this justice you are talking about. That finally there are two weights and two measures. The matter is not what the law says or what the penal code says, but what really happens. Just like in the case of terrorism.

For example, the US consider PKK to be a terrorist organization, but not UCK. In the beginning UCK was considered, by the US, a terrorist organization but afterwards it wasn't because its existence was convenient for their plans. Isn't that right? The US did not consider Contras being terrorists, when they were going to invade Nicaragua, but they considered terrorists all the left revolutionary movements and guerrillas.

(...) I want to complete what I was telling before to the public prosecutor, about terrorism in an international level. In reality, for this moment, the US is the global gendarmerie and terrorist, as the only great world power left. Which means it is the worst thing on earth. And according to our perception - as anarchists - the State, all the states and all the governments are antisocial, terrorist mechanisms, since they have organized armies, police, and hired torturers.

I also want to complete what I was saying about having two weights and two measures. For example, the US provides with weapons, finance and instigate every dictatorial regime all over the world. And in Greece also. In Latin America, Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, Peru.... This is Terrorism. Terrorism is to arm dictators, to arm death squads in Argentina or in Bolivia in order to kill people of the Left, citizens, and revolutionaries. Those who equip the death squads to torture, those are the terrorists. Terrorism is when they bombard Yugoslavia for ten days, killing civilians. (...)

Excuse me, Mr. prosecutor, but the US are the ones who tell who is terrorist and who isn't. Their State Department issues official directions, advising Greece about who is a terrorist. This period of time, they place pressure on the Greek state to make an anti-terrorist law, a model of law which will criminalize those who fight, to make laws more draconian than those already existing. These are Terrorism.

The revolutionaries and the militants are not terrorists. Terrorists are the states themselves. And with this accusation, with this stigmatizing (of terrorism) all the states and governments try to criminalize the social revolutionaries and the militants inside their countries. The internal social enemy... In fact, the State, justice and the police face me also as this kind of enemy. As an internal social enemy. On the basis of the division I described before. That's the way the state sees it. This is what is ventured in this trial.

Public prosecutor: *What do you have to oppose to the existent?*

Social revolution. By any means necessary.

It is generally proven, because I am well versed in Greek as well as in international social and political history, that never did any changes happen, never did humanity meet any progress - progress as I conceive it - through begging, praying or with words only.

(...) Popular sovereignty, sir judges, is when molotov and stones are

violence, to kill, to torture, to terrorize.

Finally, I am not on trial because I placed a bomb, nor because I possessed three guns and ten kilograms of dynamite. After all, the army and the police have a lot more guns than I do and they use them. The one can't be compared with the other.

"It is generally proven... that never did any changes happen, never did humanity meet any progress, progress as I conceive it, through begging, praying or with words only." -Nikos Maziotis

I have nothing else to say. The only thing I'll say more is that no matter the sentence to which I will be convicted, because it is certain that I will be convicted, I am not going to repent for anything. I will remain who I am. I can also say that prison is always a school for a revolutionary. His ideas and the endurance of his soul are experienced. And if he surpasses this test he becomes stronger and believes more these things for which he was found in prison. I have nothing more to say.

The judge: Don't turn the cameras to the bench!

Public prosecutor: In the beginning of your plead you said that you had the guns for war. Don't you see a contradiction when you say that there was no danger for human lives?

I made clear that none of my activities is turned against citizens. I already made that clear. Where is the contradiction?

Public prosecutor: You said the guns are for war.

Yes but not for the people. For my class enemies. Look, I never said that I am a humanist generally. Nor a philanthropist, because these meanings are degraded. In everything that I've written- if you have read- and in everything that I've said I made clear who are my friends and who are my enemies. Not in a personal but in a social level. Who are my social and class friends and who are my social and class enemies. In the letter with which I took responsibility of the action as well as in my defense I said that society is another thing from the State.

I will go on to be more specific for the jury. On the one hand I place the State, state officials, the police, the army, the security forces, capitalists, and on the other hand I placed the rest of the people: workers, farmers, pupils, the whole of society, the majority of the people, the oppressed people.

Public prosecutor: You talked about justice putting the word in quotation marks. What ground for complaint do you have against justice?

I have been in prison for the last 18 months. I have personally stayed in prison for 18 months and another 7 months in military prison. Simple and close examples. You are speaking of me, personally, don't you?

These laws are made in order to suit your interests. From these laws you are earning your bread. Your job is to send citizens in prison. And I op-

At the moment, there may be genuinely few activists in this country that the State regards as a real threat (or at least a serious pain in the arse), something which is a rather sad reflection on the state of revolutionary politics. Believe me, if and when Anarchists become worthy opponents of the State they will find it more than willing to play its part. Many working-class people have found this out to their cost in the past, and whereas because of their class stature the middle-class pseudo-revolutionaries are insulated from all this, working-class people are increasingly feeling the repressive iron heel of the State on their faces. Imprisonment is becoming a more and more central part of working-class people's lives, few of us are without brothers, sisters, mothers, fathers, sons, daughters, friends or lovers, who have not been locked up, and often for fuck all. Sentences are getting longer, and it is getting easier and easier for the Police and Crown Prosecution Service to fit people up.

"The struggle behind bars is an intrinsic part of the wider revolutionary struggle, and prisoners need organizations which are capable of delivering concrete support and revolutionary solidarity, not empty rhetoric." -Mark Barnsley

The past few years have seen a wave of increasing repression in Britain's prisons, but despite many aspects of political struggle being at something of a nadir in this country, the struggle against oppression in British prisons continues to endure. Prisoners deserve support in this struggle. No isolated group of individuals can win a fight against a vastly stronger enemy, and in here we are as isolated as could be.

When it comes to prisoner support work too many Anarchists are believing too much of our own propaganda, which on this issue is at best wishful thinking, and at worst downright lies. The truth hurts, but the fact is that, among Anarchists in this country today, solidarity is a pretty rare commodity. I was part of the Anarchist movement for 20 years before being fitted-up by the State, yet for the first 4 years of my imprisonment I received little more than limited support from a few individual comrades.

Anarchists have long been big at encouraging active resistance in British prisons, yet they are rarely able or willing to provide the solidarity and financial aid required by prisoners who are brutalized and isolated for fighting back in prison. This mirrors the attitude of the so-called 'revolutionary' left in general, big on slogans calling for militancy and revolution, but left shocked and wanting by even relatively minor acts of resistance. Like middle-class Anarchists they view any individuals with the bottle to back up words with action as dangerous lunatics. It is little wonder that many prisoners (like the working class in general) regard politicians with suspicion, or even outright contempt.

While we are told in some quarters that there have never been more

Anarchists in this country, the fact is that the organizations and structures that have traditionally made up the movement are in tatters, and the whole movement seems in ideological disarray, with many comrades so ashamed of the state of things that they have had enough. Even the ABC, in which many Anarchists take a part-time interest, has been reduced to a small number of tiny groups and individuals, with little cohesion or direction, and seemingly without the will to address their obvious organizational problems.

The current disarray in the prisoners solidarity movement could not have come at a worse time for those of us behind bars, for we are at a critical point in terms of the British prison struggle. Battles are now taking place which will decide the conditions of prisoners for many years to come. Inside, State forces are intent on stripping away the concessions to humanity they were forced to make in the 80's, and crush prisoner resistance once and for all, while outside the Labour Government is escalating its attacks on working-class people through the erosion of civil liberties and the building of an increasingly undisguised Police State, locking up more of us than ever.

The struggle behind bars is an intrinsic part of the wider revolutionary struggle, and prisoners need organizations which are capable of delivering concrete support and revolutionary solidarity, not empty rhetoric. If we are serious as revolutionaries we need to build an effective prisoner solidarity movement which will coherently oppose the increasing State repression, and which is capable of effectively aiding prisoner resistance and even going on the offensive in support of it. In the words of Anarchist prisoner Ojore N Lutalo, "Any movement that does not support its political internees is a sham movement."

Full Sutton Prison, February 1999



for my past. Because all of these are aggravating elements: "so, you were in the Polytechnic occupation, you were in the Economic School occupation, you are objector of military service, you were here and there...." I don't have a "previous decent life", according to you of course because according to me I am a very decent person. In reality, you don't judge me for supposedly having the purpose to harm people.

In fact, the state has proven that it does not care for the citizens. On the contrary, when its domination must be consolidated, the state takes away human lives, as I said in the examples I gave before. The only thing the state wants is to conserve a monopoly, the monopoly that "only us, only me, the State, can take away human lives." Only the uniformed police, the secret police, the riot police or the special police can take away human lives. Everyone else who does it is a criminal. But when the state does it, it proves to be unsalable.

(...) What the state wants is to deal with everyone alone. You must have heard an expression that the prime minister Simitis is using a lot, talking about "social automatism" whenever social reactions burst out. He uses this expression in order to present these social reactions -the blockades in the streets, the squatting in public buildings and all the actions of this kind- as being in contrast with the interests of the rest of society. Something that is a total lie. It is just the tactics of "divide and rule", which means "spread the discord to break solidarity". Because solidarity is very important as anyone who is alone becomes an easy target.

"I am not on trial because I placed a bomb, nor because I possessed three guns and ten kilograms of dynamite. After all, the army and the police have a lot more guns than I do and they use them." -Nikos Maziotis

(...) What is really being attacked is solidarity. And that's what is also attacked, without any disguise, through my trial. The state wants to attack to everyone alone. Because when it finds them together things are much more difficult.

Police brutality is of course not sufficient for repression. Coming back to what I was saying before, I have concluded to the fact that the difference between dictatorship and parliamentary democracy -or should I better say capitalist oligarchy- is that the first one is mainly imposed by raw violence and the latter, the presumed democracy, is mostly imposed by the intellectual control of the citizens, through the weapon of the Mass Media, through deception. Because I don't believe that the people voting their bosses every four years means they have their freedom. They vote for them but when they're not doing what they were supposed to, the people can't get rid of them.

(...) But democracy has also proved that when deception and intellectual control of the citizens are not enough, it has no problem to resort to police

wants, the economy is through".

One year after, there was another attempt to start the works for the installation of the gold metallurgy. In July of '97 the residents destroy a drill belonging to IGME and clash with the police. In November, they gather and make a demonstration to the mines.

But some months before - in September, if I can remember well - the state had predicted that the people's reactions would culminate and had sent hundreds of policemen from Thessaloniki. They had also sent riot police from Athens, special repression police units and police tanks, which as I said before appeared in the streets for the first time after 1980 when they were used to suppress demonstrations.

There was a whole army of occupation installed there permanently. The police knew that there would be riots again so they had prepared a military force to repress the residents. As it happened. Of course, it didn't happen

completely because the police was defeated. The clashes took place in the 9th of November and like I said before police cars and riot police vans were destroyed, the drill of the company was set on fire and finally the guerrilla practices took place, when there were shootings to frighten the police.

As I have already said, I was very much inspired by these events to put the bomb in the Ministry of Industry and Development. On this base I want to repeat that this struggle had not a simple local character. It had surpassed it.

For us, for the anarchists, social struggles and solidarity are beyond national limits. For me and for my comrades, struggles that take place outside the borders of the Greek state have a great importance.

There is huge importance for me in the Zapatista guerrilla that has burst out in Chiapas in 1994. It is one more struggle against neoliberalism, a struggle that is carried out with guns, with masks... a real war. It is part of the political violence and I am not against that. I have never stated to be against it and I do not want to pretend the good guy.

Of great importance for me is also the movement of Brazilian farmers without land (the MST) who occupy the land of the estates in order to cultivate it collectively. There is also great significance in the movement of the jobless people in France, who made occupations in working offices and clashed with the police during the winter of '97-'98.

(...) I don't believe that you really judge me as a "terrorist". I don't believe that you judge me for "having the purpose to cause danger to human lives". This is just a pretext. In fact, you are judging me for what I've said until now. For who I am. For being an anarchist, for believing what I believe, even

"Plea" to the Athens Criminal Court

By Nikos Maziotis

Dear comrades,

The following text is the translation of what Nikos Maziotis has said to the court during his trial which took place in the 5th to the 7th of July 1999 in Athens, Greece.

He was convicted with a 15-year prison sentence for "attempted explosion with danger for human lives" and "possession of guns and explosives" for his action of putting a bomb in the Ministry of Industry and Development in 6-12-97, in solidarity with the revolt of the villages in Strymonikos against the installation of a gold metallurgy by multinational company TVX GOLD. During the trial he supported politically again his choices, as he did from the beginning when he had sent from prison a letter with which he was taking responsibility of the action against the Ministry. He never though accepted the charges the state was accusing him of, as revolutionary acts cannot be described in terms of the penal code. In that sense, this trial was not a typical procedure of convicting someone who pleads "guilty" but it turned into a political confrontation so much between Nikos and his prosecutors, as much as between his comrades, anarchists and revolutionaries and the state and its mechanisms.

This confrontation was strongly supported by the presence of comrades from Sardegna (Costantino Cavalleri), Italy (Alfredo Bonanno) and France (Helyette Bess) who testified in the court in solidarity with Nikos and by the letters sent in support by the imprisoned militants of Action Directe, France, by the ABC of Barcelona and by other anarchist groups from Spain. All these together, along with the presence inside and outside the court of anarchist comrades and of course the speech of Nikos Maziotis against his prosecutors, gave a sense of the international struggle for freedom and of solidarity with all the people in revolt, with all political prisoners captured in moments of the social and class war against the state and capital.

Solidarity,
Comrades from the Anarchist Circle
and the collective «Anarchists in Solidarity»

First, I do not intend to pretend the "good guy" here where I was forced to come. I will not plead for anything, because I do not concern myself a criminal. I am a revolutionary. I have nothing to repent of. I am proud of what I have done. The only thing I regret is the technical error that was made and the bomb didn't explode, so that my fingerprint was found on it after and I ended up here. This is the only thing I repent. And something else also: all that stuff shouldn't be at my house, they should be placed somewhere else.

You must have in mind that although you are judges and sitting higher than me, many times the revolutionaries, and myself specifically, have judged



you long before you judge me. We are in opposite camps, hostile camps.

The revolutionaries and revolutionary justice -because I don't believe that this court is justice, it's the word justice in quotation marks- many times judge their enemies more merciless, when they get the chance to impose justice.

I will begin from many years ago. We don't have any crime of mine to judge here. On the contrary, we will talk about crimes, but not mine. We will talk about the crimes of the State, of its mechanisms, of justice and police crimes.

(...) The first time I can say I was politicized is when I took part in a demonstration, in 1985. It was 17th of November. I was fourteen then, and one policeman, Mr. Melistas, shot and killed a fifteen year-old, Kaltezas. I had not participated in the riots of that night. The same evening after the murder the Chemistry School had been occupied and in the morning special forces carried out a police raid in the building to evacuate it and they arrested the anarchists and youths who were inside. The next day five thousand people occupied the Polytechnic School -if I remember correct because I was young then and didn't have much information. These occupations were exactly a reaction to the murder of Kaltezas by policeman Melistas. Justice, five years later, in January of 1990, found Melistas innocent.

What I mean by saying this is that in reality you are abettors of crimes, at least according to me. Then, in January and February of '90 I took part in the occupation of the Polytechnic, which occurred as a reaction to the court-decision which found Melistas not guilty for the murder of Kaltezas.

There were riots and damages, stores were broken, stones and molotov cocktails thrown... I participated in these events. From then on I could consciously say I am an anarchist.

(...) I will contradict my brother who said before "he didn't want the guns in order to make war". They were for war. Maybe they were just kept there. But the guns are for war; you don't just have them to keep them at home. I might have kept them as they were, but they are to make war and I make war... The bomb in the ministry was an act of war.

"...although you are judges and sitting higher than me, many times the revolutionaries, and myself specifically, have judged you long before you judge me. We are in opposite camps, hostile camps." -Nikos Maziotis

Since 1990 I have been convicted many times for my action, for multiform actions.

I was convicted because I refused to serve the army. Not because I have any problem with weapons or with violence, I repeated that in the military court. The fact that this time I was arrested in possession of guns means that I have no problem with weapons or with violence, I am not at all a pacifist. Be-

ism against the anarchists, terrorism against the people of Strymonikos, who are also receiving similar messages this period, as they have similar trials for their mobilizations. This is terrorism.

The fact that I put a bomb as an action of solidarity is not terrorism. Because no citizen was harmed by this action.

(...) I want to refer to the struggle in Strymonikos. Even if I have never been there I will give you some historical rudiments. The mines which are now bought by the multinational company TVX Gold exist since 1927.

They used to belong to Bodosakis. In these mines, where numerous working accidents have taken place and many miners suffered pneumonokoniosis, there was a big bloody strike back in 1977. The strike had demands such as the increasing of salaries, medical treatment, and security measures in the galleries. Then there were also police tanks sent in the area, there were also arrests and convictions, terrorism imposed in the villages.

In the late 80's the company was characterized as "problematic", like many others. The state, through METVA, plans the installation of a gold metallurgy. In '92 the company, as "problematic" passes to the hands of the state and in December of '95 the latter sells the mines to TVX. But the residents of Strymonikos didn't want the construction of a gold metallurgy. More than seventy years of mining activity had yet caused serious environmental problems.

This struggle has a great importance, and that has been proven, for international reasons. The mobilizations started in the beginning of '96. The residents blockaded the national highway Thessaloniki-Kavala, they made guardhouses from where they could supervise the mines and stop any truck of the company that would try to pass or any machinery that would begin drilling activities. With these practices, the street blockading and the guardhouses, the people demonstrated: "We are here. You are not going to pass."

This way they forced the company to temporarily suspend its activities. In the 26th of October '96, TVX sent an ultimatum to the Greek state and to the Ministry of Development, saying that "Unless the works start right now, we are going to leave". Their investment, which is the biggest private one ever made in the country, an investment of 65 billion drachmas, would leave Greece.

When the first clashes took place, in the 17th of October, and the residents managed to repel violently the police forces from the area, Jason Stratos, the president of SEV, stated that "these disturbances damage the validity of the country abroad". And he was right, because "it's impossible that two thousand provincials (I don't mean this characterization in a bad way, but that's how the minister or the president of SEV mean it. That's how professional politicians and the political parties talk about simple people) will destroy our investments, not letting a Canadian company or any other foreign company come here and make investments. This reaction must end". So, you can understand that this struggle had no more a restricted local character. It had international extensions, because it created a precedent: "If we can't have an investment in Halkidiki, wherever a foreign investor may go, will not be able to proceed with the investment. If the people revolt and don't want what the state

of the RAF had died inside the white cells of Stammheim, in Stuttgart, West Germany. The white cells alone is terrorism. Prison is terrorism. So, then, some Greek revolutionaries went to burn the factory of AEG, as an action of solidarity with the RAF and also as a reaction to the murder of RAF militants in prisons of Stuttgart. During this attempt, which was unsuccessful, somebody was killed. He was Christos Kassimis, shot by the two policemen, Plessas and Stergiou, who guarded the factory. And according to what I have read, they didn't kill him because their lives were threatened, they shot him in the back. He died with a bullet in his back.

"Only the State attacks against civilians, that's what the repression mechanisms are for: the riot police, special repression police units, the army, special forces... Mechanisms that also rob the people." -Nikos Maziotis

Terrorism is when special police forces invade the Chemistry School and beat up anarchists and youth. Terrorism is when Temponeras is murdered in Patras. Terrorism is when Christos Tsoutsouvis was murdered in '85. But this case has also something special and I want to point it out. To Christos Tsoutsouvis fits an expression of Thoukidides -if you know about him, he is the ancient historian who wrote down the story of the Peloponnesian War- that "dying in the battle is an honor, followed by applause of the citizens". He may got killed, but he also took three of them with him. For me, he was a warrior, a militant. I believe that society needs more persons like him.

Terrorism is when citizens are murdered by the police in simple 'identification controls'. I will mention some examples. I will say about Christos Mouratis, a Rom in the city of Livadia, who was shot in a police blockade in October of 1996. He was an unarmed citizen... This is a crime. But justice did nothing about it, what would it do? It just rewarded the crime.

(...) Terrorism is when Ali Yumfraz, a Pomak from Vrilisia suburb of Athens, was arrested being drunk and afterwards he was found dead in his cell in the police station. The police said he suffered a heart attack and that this was the reason for his death. I can recall another incident, in January of '91, when policemen beat up a Turkish political refugee, Souleiman Akkar, to death. The Minister of Public Order had then said that the man had heart problems. But the medical examination found that there were bruises all over his body.

Terrorism is this court, here. Every trial of a militant, every trial of a revolutionary is terrorism, a message of intimidation for society. I said it again in my statements yesterday, when you called me to say if I accept the charges, and I will repeat it. Because of my persecution being political, the message is clear: whoever fights against the State and the Capital will be penalized, criminalized and given the characterization of terrorist. The same for any solidarity to any social struggle: it will be penalized and crushed down. This is the message of this trial and by this sense it is terrorism. Terrorism against me, terror-

cause neither society nor the State are peaceful. As long as I receive violence I will respond with violence.

I spent seven months in a military prison; I have been convicted for deserting the army and for evasion of military services. The second time I was released after 51 days of hunger strike.

I have been arrested in '94 in the occupation of the Economic university along with 51 comrades of mine, when Giorgos Balafas and Odysseas Kampouris were on hunger strike. This occupation of the Economic School was also an action of solidarity. In conditions where we couldn't gather any-



where nor demonstrate, we had decided to squat a university and use it as a center of counter-information about the cases of Giorgos Balafas and Odysseas Kampouris, who were then imprisoned.

In '95 I was arrested with 500 other people in the revolt of the Polytechnic in November. That occupation happened because there were many different political prisoners in jail - Kostas Kalaremas, Odysseas Kampouris, Giorgos Balafas who was arrested again in the meantime, Spyros Dapergolas, Christoforos Marinos and four persons from Thessaloniki who were arrested when the demonstration in which they participated was attacked by the police in the 14th of November- and because there was a prisoners' revolt going on in Koridallou jail. For this occupation I was at last sentenced to one year imprisonment along with many others of my comrades. In all these actions me and my comrades have taken completely the responsibility.

So, during this decade, since I can call myself an anarchist, I have used many forms of action. I have written and distributed leaflets, I took part in posterings, and I participated in occupations, violent or peaceful.

(...) Our purpose, within the anti-State and anticapitalist struggle, is to connect ourselves with the different social struggles. Our purpose also when interfering in these struggles is to attempt to make things reach the edge, which means to culminate the conflict of these social parts with the State and the police. To urge the people fighting surpass the institutional frames, the trade unions, the local administrations and all these manipulators who are enemies of human freedom. Many comrades of mine, with their small forces, were engaged in such struggles. I will tell you about them more specifically.

In 1989, in a struggle of environmental interest in the village of Aravissos, the residents of the area didn't want their water sources to be exploited by the Water Company of Thessaloniki. They clashed with the police and the riot police, the burnt watering pumps, the set fires and barricades... And some of our comrades from Thessaloniki took part in this struggle and they were even arrested.

In 1990 the aggression of neo-liberalism started in Greece (an aggres-

sion that internationally had started since the 80's with Reagan and Thatcher governments), including de-industrialization, workers' dismissals, privatization, restriction of the welfare state, reductions on salaries, pensions and medical treatment... This attack that has started in Europe and North America since the beginning of the 80's, it only started in 1990 in Greece.

The first project was the "problematic" companies. In that section also, during the period of 1990-91, there were occupations in many factories of the country, in Mantoudi, Lavrio, Patras. Again, some comrades of ours, with their small powers, were there. More specifically in Mantoudi and in Piraiiki-Patraiki factory which is located in Patras.

After that we have the pupils' movement of '90-91 which was a grand one, according to my opinion. It managed to subvert the law of the minister of Education, Kontogiannopoulos who finally resigned. The right-wing government, in its effort to repress the movement, had mobilized its thugs in order to smash the school occupations, resulting to the murder of a teacher, Nikos Temponeras, inside an occupied school in Patras. It was one more crime of the state. Here we will count the crimes of the state, no crime of mine.

Responding to the murder of Temponeras there was a demonstration of thousands of people. We participated too, to sharpen the situation. There were conflicts with the police; the Polytechnic was occupied once again for two days. Flames, barricades, damages... There was also another crime those days, in the 10th of January '91. During the riots, tear-gas bombs thrown by the police caused fire to the building of K. Marousi, a shopping center in Panepistimion street. Four citizens died inside there due to this fire. For this crime nobody has yet paid, nor did any justice say something. They covered it.

One year after, in summer of 1992, my comrades -not me personally but this doesn't matter- participated in the clashes around Volanikos central bus-station, when the government attempted to privatize Public Transports. There were conflicts between the workers and the police. Then, some workers in the Public Transports went to prison accused of sabotage. They were smashing the private buses belonging to the ruffian owners who had bought them. There also, anarchists were present.

(...) Generally, wherever there are disturbances, wherever there are conflicts we want to be in. To subvert things. For us, this is not a crime. In a real sense, these disturbances are the "popular sovereignty" that professional politicians keep talking about. That's where freedom is expressed...

Now let's talk about the struggle of the people in Strymonikos. Long before I put the bomb, other comrades have been in the villages, they have been talking with the people there, and they had published a brochure about this revolt, about the clashes in October of 1996. But I will talk more specifically about the struggle in Strymonikos in a little while. First, I want to talk exclusively about the action.

To say the truth, I was inspired to put this bomb for a specific reason: The people of the villages had broken the limits, by themselves. If it was a struggle inside the institutional frames, in the way that trade unions and local administrations try to keep these struggles restricted, if it was confined in a

ministry without having anyone killed, I wouldn't have any objection. It is another useless building for the people and for society. As I said before, the only thing I regret is the technical error on the device.

(...) I want to refer more to what I call solidarity, to the motives that I had. What is this solidarity? I believe that people socialized, that human society was created, based on three components: solidarity, mutuality and helping each other. So, that's where human freedom is based on. Any social group in struggle, in different space and time, whether they are pupils or farmers or citizens of local societies, for me and for the anarchists it is very important. It doesn't have to do with whether I am a worker and identifying my interests with the interests of that class. If someone asks for a higher salary or has a trade-unionist demand for me it is not important. For me, solidarity means the unreserved acceptance and support with every means of the right that the people must have to determine their lives as they wish, and not letting others to decide in default of them, like the State and Capital do.

That means that in this specific case, in the struggle of Strymonikos but also in every social struggle, for me what counts mostly is that they are struggles through which the people want to determine their fates alone. And not having any police chief or any state official or capitalist deciding what they should do. It is of secondary importance if they want or don't want the factory, if the focal point of the struggle is environmental. The important thing is that they don't want the factory because they don't like something imposed to them with violence.

Concerning the matter of political violence now... From the very beginning they tried to present a case of "repulsive criminals" and "terrorists" who "blindly" placed bombs". Something that doesn't exist.

If theoretically terrorism is exercising violence against citizens and unarmed population, that goes exclusively for the State. Only the State attacks against civilians, that's what the repression mechanisms are for: the riot police, special repression police units, the army, special forces... Mechanisms that also rob the people. They finance armed professionals, policemen. Aren't they trained to shoot real targets? Isn't the riot police armed with chemical gas? To use them where? On citizens, in the demonstrations and in manifestations. So, only the State exercises violence against the citizens. I didn't use any violence against any citizen.

I will say exactly what terrorism is.

Terrorism is when occupations, demonstrations and strikes are being attacked. When the riot police attacked the pensioners who demonstrated outside Maximou four years ago. When Melistas killed Kaltezas. When Kounis and Kanelopoulou were murdered by the riot police in 16th of November 1980. And if I can remember well, they were not shot, they were beaten up to death. Terrorism is when Christos Kassimis was murdered. But I will refer more specifically to this case.

A group of revolutionaries had then tried to set fire to the German factory of AEG, in Redis. This was also an action of solidarity. I don't know if you are aware of that, but I will tell you about it. Then, in '77, some guerrillas

mild, harmless and not dangerous protest, maybe I wouldn't do anything. But the comrades up there in the villages - who are not anarchists of course, but I don't care about that, they are citizens who also want their freedom - had surpassed every limit. They had conflicts with the police three times - in the 17th of October 1996, in the 25th of July '97 and in November 9 '98-, they had put fire to police cars and vans of the riot police, they had burnt machinery belonging to TVX, they had invaded in the mines of Olympiada and

"I was caught, because I made that technical error and I left a fingerprint, but even if there was no material damage at all the message was sent." -Nikos Maziotis

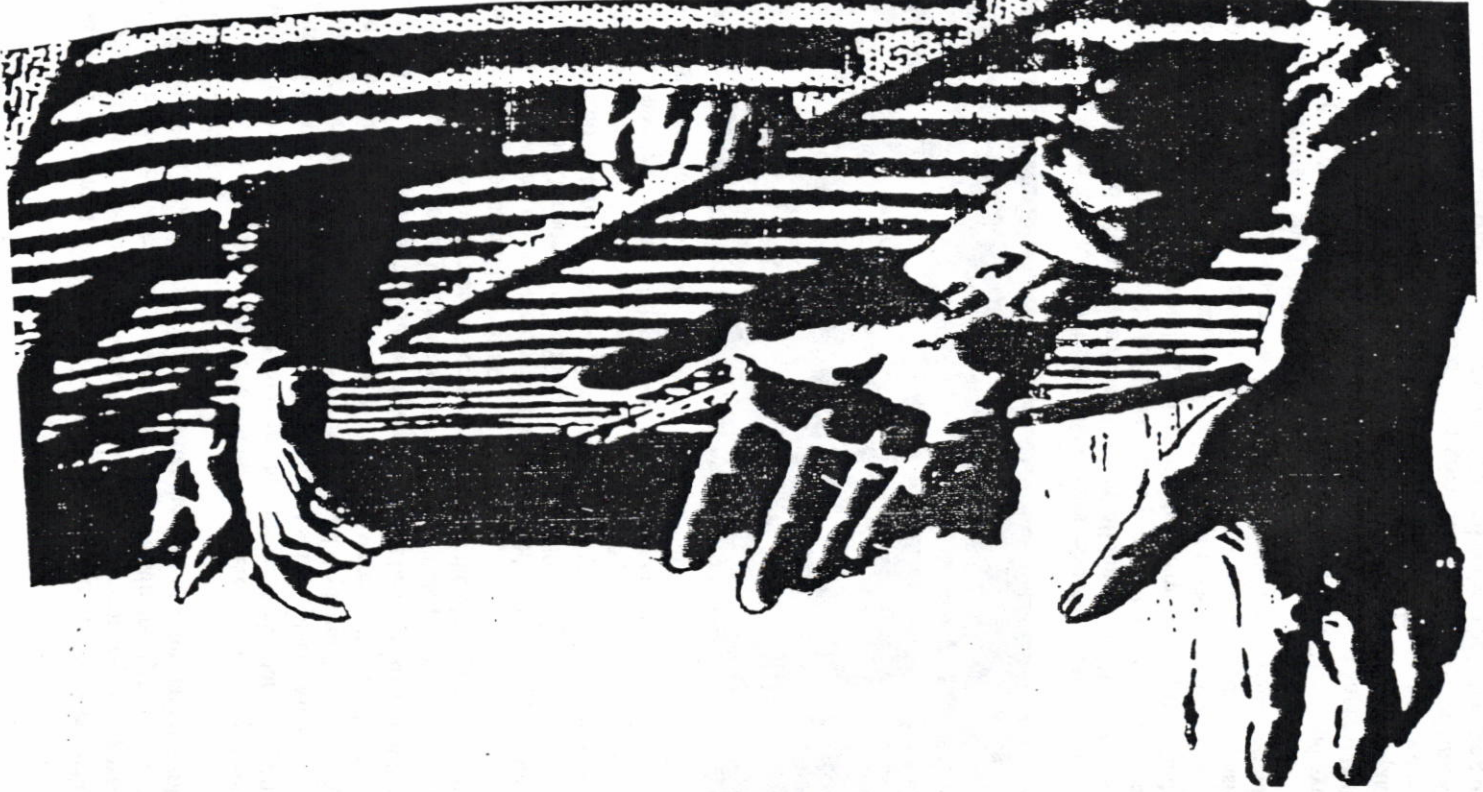
destroyed part of the installations. Some of them also made a kind of guerrilla. In the nights, they were going out with shooting guns, shooting in the air to frighten the policemen. And I thought, these people are cool, they've gone even further than us.

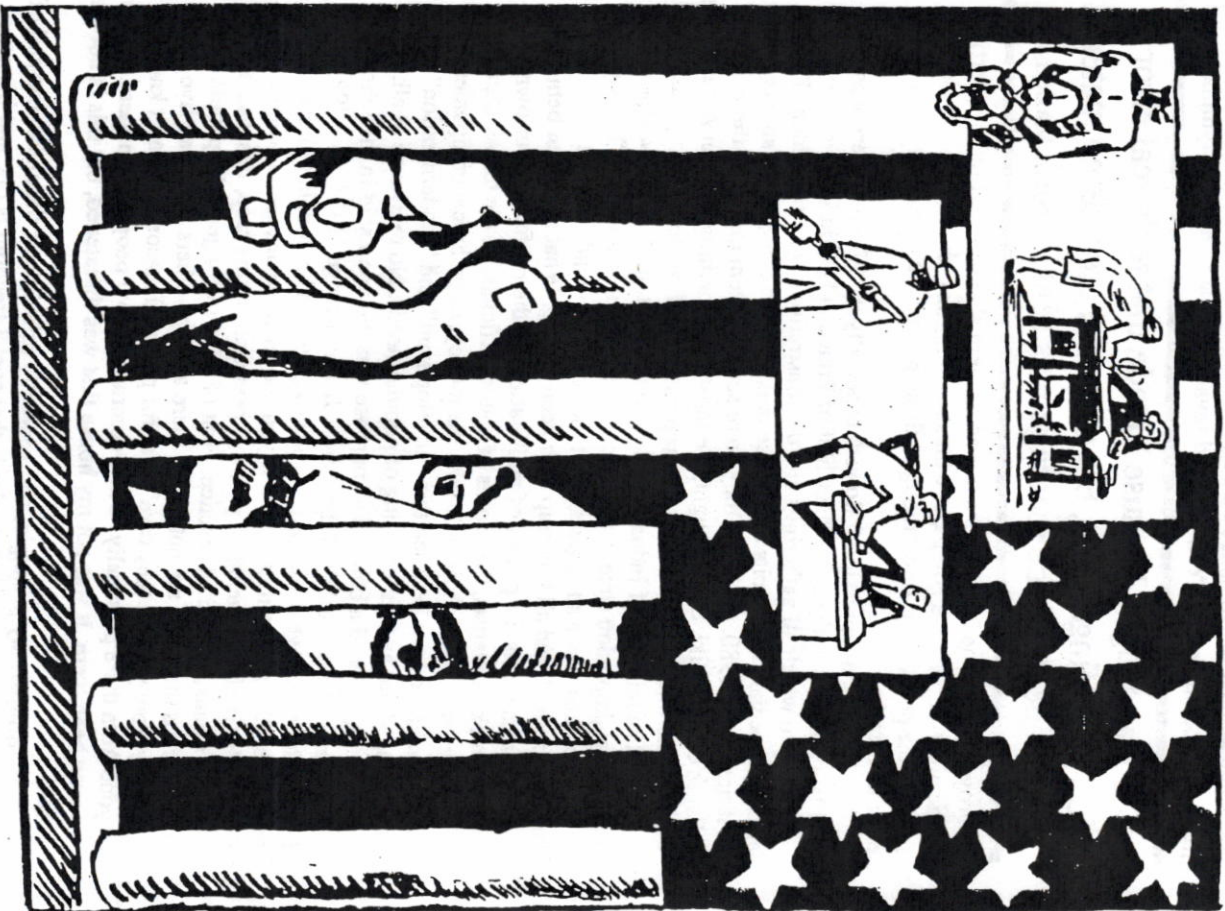
And then repression followed, especially in '97 when there was martial law imposed in the area. The Chief of Police in Halkidiki gave an order according to which all gatherings and demonstrations were forbidden. They also sent special police units and police tanks, which came in the streets for the first time since 1980. And now they were sending them out again there, in the villages of Halkidiki. So, I thought, we must do something here, in Athens. It is not possible that the others are under repression and we here staying passive.

The ministry of Industry and Development, in Papadiamadopoulou and Michalakopoulou streets, was one of the centers of this case. The struggle in Strymonikos was a struggle against the "development", against "modernization" and all this crap they keep saying. What is hidden behind all these expressions is the profits of multinationals, the profits of "our own" capitalists, Greek capitalists, the profits of states' officials, of the Greek state, of the bureaucrats, of all those who take the money, of technical companies... There is no relevance between this "development" and "modernization" they are talking about and the covering of popular needs. No relevance at all.

So, I placed a bomb. The purpose was the one I said in the letter with which I took responsibility of the action. In the passage of February '98 I say: Placing the explosive device my purpose was to send a double political message. Everything is political. Even if you use such means, the messages are political. War itself is a means of political pressure. In this case, this was also a political means, a political practice. First of all, a message to the people of Strymonikos that "you are not alone, there are also others who may live 600 km away from you but they care". Not for personal reasons... I don't know anyone from there personally. Other comrades know people from there. I haven't even been there. It was not my house that was threatened, but this is not the point.

Simply, my principle, and generally principle of the anarchists and of other non-anarchist revolutionaries is that social freedom is one and inseparable





ble. So, if freedom is partially offended, in essence it is offended as a whole. If their freedom is offended, mine is offended too. Their war will be my war, especially in an area where the "sovereign people" - again an expression used by professional politicians - does not want what the state and the capital want: the gold metallurgy of TVX.

On the other hand, I have said that, OK, there would be some damages - I knew that. Yes, I had the intention to cause material damages. So, what damage would that be? On the windows, on that certain place, what kind of damage? Or outside the storehouse where I placed the bomb? According to me, the damages would be minimal. But even if they were more than minimal, for me it is not important at all. Because freedom can't be compared with the material damages on some windows, on a state car or state property. For me, the ministry is not an institution of common benefit as the charges say. Of state benefit yes, but of social benefit no.

However, even if the device did not explode, I sent my message. I was caught, because I made that technical error and I left a fingerprint, but even if there was no material damage at all the message was sent. And you received it, the state received it, but also the people of Strymonikos received it. I know that they are saying I am one of them, even if they have never met me. There is nothing better than that. And of course, I repeat that I don't regret it at all.



I will refer a little to the technical parts. Exactly because I am a social revolutionary, and when you say that it is like talking for the benefit of society. Not like - it is for the social benefit. As I have this principle I couldn't harm any citizen. I could harm a policeman. I consider them my enemies. And you are my enemies too. I separate you. I make a clear class separation. On one hand we have those, on the other hand, we have the others. In this occasion though I didn't intend to harm neither the policeman who guarded the ministry nor anybody else - and of course not a citizen.

(...) And exactly because of the message being political and symbolic, it was not in my purpose to cause extensive material damages; that's why I used a small quantity of dynamite. And I had the possibility to put five or seven or ten kilos, if I wanted to... But I didn't put... Since there were such things found in my house, I could cause great damages, always talking about the material damages! But I didn't. If I could demolish the whole building of the